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Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School

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# **NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL**

**MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA**

## **THESIS**

**ADVANCING U.S. FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH  
HOMELAND SECURITY: THE LOGIC FOR  
INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL  
EXCHANGES**

by

Dominic J. Traina, III

December 2013

Thesis Co-Advisors:

Robert Bach  
John Rollins

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**ADVANCING U.S. FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH HOMELAND SECURITY:  
THE LOGIC FOR INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL  
EXCHANGES**

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**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES  
(HOMELAND SECURITY AND DEFENSE)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The role of soft power in U.S. foreign policy has become a common theme amongst government agencies. International training and professional exchanges are a part of soft power. Since the egregious attacks on 9/11, many have argued for an increase in this tool of statecraft.

This thesis reviews the role of soft power in U.S. foreign policy and how that pertains to homeland security. Specifically, the study notes the importance of international military and law enforcement training and how these exchanges can enhance U.S. security and advance foreign policy. Moreover, the research reviews models of current Department of Defense international training efforts for consideration by the Department of Homeland Security. The many professional exchanges and international training efforts from agencies such as U.S. Customs and Border Protection, U.S. Coast Guard, and the International Law Enforcement Academies are also reviewed. A model for an international program to take place at the Global Borders College is presented. In conclusion, the paper will argue that through attraction and influence, the U.S. will be better suited for security in the future. Furthermore, the encouraging of international training and exchanges will assist in improving U.S. multilateral relationships in the twenty-first century.



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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

ATC	Advanced Training Center
BATF	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms
BORSTAR	Border Patrol Search, Trauma, and Rescue
BUR	Bottom-Up Review Report
CBP	Customs and Border Protection
CBP/INA	Customs and Border Protection's Office of International Affairs
CG	Coast Guard
COIN	Counterinsurgency
CSI	Container Security Initiative
C-TPAT	Customs Trade Partnership against Terrorism
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DHS-OIA	Department of Homeland Security Office of International Affairs
DoD	Department of Defense
DOE	Department of Energy
DOJ	Department of Justice
DOS	Department of State
DS	Department of State Diplomatic Security Service
DSCA	Defense Security Cooperation Agency
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
FAA	Foreign Assistance Act
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FM	Field Manual
FLETC	Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GBC	Global Borders College
ICA	International Cooperation Administration
ILEA	International Law Enforcement Academies
IMET	International Military Education and Training Program
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INL	Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement

IPS	International Port Security Program
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
ISPS	International Ship and Port Facility Security Code
ITD	International Training Division
MTS	Maritime Transportation Security Act A
MTB	International Mobile Training Branch
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NORTHCOM	U.S. Northern Command
NSS	National Security Strategy
PME	Professional Military Exchanges
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review
QDDR	Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review
QHSR	Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report
RMS	Revolution in Military Affairs
RSPA	Revolution in Soft Power Affairs
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USG	United States Government
USSS	United States Secret Service
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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## **I. INTRODUCTION**

I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past.

—Thomas Jefferson

### **A. PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Since the end of World War II, the United States has mostly pursued a grand strategy of international involvement and collaboration in a multitude of organizations that deal with military, security, economics and trade. The U.S. has embedded these multilateral organizations with American ingenuity and leadership in an attempt to win greater influence over organizations and to introduce the international community to the American way. The advancement of national interests through non-military engagement and influence is an example of the exercise of “soft power.”

Following the end of the Cold War, the U.S. cut back on soft power initiatives across the globe and in some respects faced inward. This turned out to be bad policy because the rapid growth in technology, between 1992 and 2001, accelerated globalization. International boundaries became blurred as the flow of information, goods, services and people accelerated. We now see a professional and cultural reengagement between American diplomats, military, political, and private sector leaders and their international counterparts.

Ten years after 9/11, the U.S. continues to struggle with strategies to enhance homeland security. What has become increasingly clear is the interconnectedness of homeland and national security. Homeland security has morphed and become interlinked with U.S. national security. President Obama, in a directive to study the organization of Homeland Security and Counterterrorism noted:

Homeland Security is indistinguishable from National Security—conceptually and functionally, they should be thought of together rather than separately. Instead of separating these issues, we must create an integrated, effective, and efficient approach to enhance the national

security of the United States. The White House must be organized in ways that reflect this reality.<sup>1</sup>

One such way homeland security agencies could strengthen homeland security as national security is by implementing the strategies and practices of their internationally looking colleagues—by engaging in the exercise of soft power of U.S. influence and partnerships.

There is a need to describe and understand the role of soft power in homeland security. This study will make a case for and describe the role of soft power in homeland security. More specifically as to how this principal tool can be applied to the development of and assistance in international training and professional exchanges. Moreover, it will compare best practices already used by the Department of Defense (DoD) in its international military education training programs. By exploring and describing the potential role of soft power in homeland security and comparing that to the role that is proposed by the DoD-style programs and practices this paper hopes to determine the relevance of homeland securities international training efforts and contribute to the effectiveness of homeland security practitioners as well as the level of homeland security itself.

## **B. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY**

The role of international training and professional exchanges is a driving force toward improving U.S. foreign policy, which in turn enhances U.S. homeland security. This underused tool of homeland and national security warrants a greater emphasis by policy makers. The logic for international training and professional exchanges is clear. The need for and consistent call for enhancing U.S. strategic foreign engagement across all levels of government is apparent. International training and professional exchanges fall into the category of soft power. Soft power is difficult for many policy makers to comprehend, and, therefore, this sub category of training is often stymied. The tools utilized in soft power are underused due to a multitude of factors. The investment is long-

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<sup>1</sup> White House, *The White House, Presidential Study Directive 1* (Washington, DC: White House, 2009).

term and the ability to track its success is difficult. Moreover, most policy makers in government want to see concrete data and tangible results from investments, specifically during periods of austerity. With these thoughts in mind, this paper poses a couple of research questions.

1. What is the role of soft power in homeland security, and how can that role be harnessed to improve homeland security's international training and professional exchange efforts?
2. How can the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) use models provided by the Department of Defense as a framework to explore and improve the efforts of DHS in international training and professional exchanges?

The main objective of the work is to emphasize the use of soft power as a tool of diplomacy for the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) specifically how it may be used in the realm of international training and professional exchanges. This study will present an Education and Training program modeled from the Department of Defense's (DoD) International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. The research will take smart policy practices, which are currently utilized by the DoD and replicate these policies in order to enhance DHS international training efforts.

The logic behind this research is essentially to emphasize that through soft power tools of engagement U.S. national security is strategically enhanced. The Fulbright Programs, along with the IMET, are successful international engagement programs and will be encouraging examples to model a DHS framework. The research for this project has come mainly from DoD literature and other government studies that call for greater international engagement via soft power. The data from DoD's international training programs, their design objectives, and performance will be reviewed and measured.

Furthermore, the research will consist primarily of reviewing current policies and data from the DoD and DHS, and through analysis, evaluations and synthesis a determination will be made as to the effectiveness of initiatives. The analysis will compare the elements of the programs and their outcomes in an effort to understand how the successes, challenges and implementation can best suit the needs of the DHS. The results from the research will offer an alternative for DHS soft power programs. A set of

recommendations on enhancing the role DHS has in soft power, specifically in the international training arena, will be the final objective of the research.

### **C. ARGUMENT: CLAIMS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES**

This paper hypothesizes that homeland security is a global mission and has international dimensions that will require greater international engagement from the United States. The thesis argues that DHS has little formal structure or guidance in the area of international training and can improve these shortcomings by following already existing government efforts from other departments. The significance of this project is to bring attention to the importance of soft power and its effectiveness along with the cross training that has taken place in the past, and the training and exchanges that could take place between sub agencies of DHS and that of foreign states.

Traditionally, the Department of State (DOS) and the Department of Defense (DoD) have taken on matters of national security and other international efforts. However, since the inception of DHS in 2003, it has had a critical role in protecting U.S. interest overseas. The phrase “pushing out the borders” is common in homeland security circles and emphasizes the importance of identifying potential international threats in the earliest of stages.

There are many areas of international collaboration, such as maritime port and cargo security, aviation, immigration and border control, information security or cyber threats, which, if identified correctly and managed effectively, could benefit U.S. homeland security. However, this thesis will focus on the benefits of international training and other professional exchanges through entities of the DHS. This work will also assert that international educational exchanges had a major role in the demise of the Soviet Union during the Cold War. It will also assert that following this effort, through international law enforcement training initiatives the global standing of the U.S. will be enhanced, which will consequently provide greater security to the homeland.

The paper will argue that by developing international assistance programs and following models from the DoD, that DHS will enhance its role in foreign law enforcement training and education. The basic argument of this thesis proposes that

international engagement and relations at all levels of the U.S. government will enhance security. Specifically, this thesis will support the argument that involvement by agencies within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) can improve global law enforcement relations in an ever increasing globalized environment to counter international criminal organizations, international terrorist organizations, and improve the image of the United States. Secondly, DHS can model programs initiated by DoD, that have been in use and successful.

Additionally, this thesis will examine case studies of components within DHS's international training efforts from U.S. Customs and Border Protection, United States Coast Guard, and International Law Enforcement Academies, and it will encompass testimonials from academics as well as practitioners in the field. Furthermore, the goal of the research is to improve relationships and encourage greater cooperation amongst DHS efforts and encouragement toward strategic thinking and greater preparation in order to improve efficiencies, which will subsequently make for a greater impact as a whole on the international community.

In addition, this thesis will propose some incremental changes in the implementation of international law enforcement training. These changes would be measured and tracking mechanisms implemented as to the effectiveness of these professional exchanges and other international training efforts. A proposed metrics for success could be defined by tracking the growth of the graduates of these programs at intervals throughout their careers.

#### **D. AUDIENCE FOR RESEARCH**

This thesis will be of particular interest to policy makers at the DHS, specifically those in the Office of International Affairs (DHS-OIA) as their mission statement claims to play a “central role in developing the Department’s strategy for pushing the Homeland Security mission overseas and actively engages foreign allies to improve international

cooperation.”<sup>2</sup> Department of Homeland Security officials from U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) Office of International Affairs and Office of Training and Development (OTD), the United States Coast Guard’s (USCG) Director of Office of International Affairs and Foreign Policy as well as Directors of the International Law Enforcement Academies (ILEA) that are overseen by the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers (FLETC) may have an interest in the arguments, case studies, conclusions and recommendations presented in this research, which can then be utilized in their individual departments. Also, the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs would have an interest, since its Bureau of Political-Military Affairs funds many international training and education programs. Lastly, legislators may find the research to be of interest as they determine where to appropriate monies for enhancing the security of the U.S. in an ever-globalized environment. This research provides a long-term strategic strategy that promotes U.S. soft power via international law enforcement training. Moreover, collaboration amongst these agencies would help ensure that the dollars spent are used wisely and overlap and redundancy is avoided. The potential benefits will be greater long-term efficiency amongst agencies and an enhanced strategy that promotes global security.

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<sup>2</sup> Office of Inspector General, Department of Homeland Security, *Management of Department of Homeland Security International Activities and Interests* (Washington, DC: Office of Inspector General, Department of Homeland Security, 2008), accessed May 12, 2013, [http://www.oig.dhs.gov/assets/Mgmt/OIG\\_08-71\\_Jun08.pdf](http://www.oig.dhs.gov/assets/Mgmt/OIG_08-71_Jun08.pdf).

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The war we are fighting today against terrorism is a multifaceted fight. We have to use every tool in our toolkit to wage this war—diplomacy, finance, intelligence, law enforcement, and of course military power—we are developing new tools as we go along.

—Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage

The literature review will briefly cover the relevance and importance of international training and professional exchanges. Following a thorough review of the researched material surprisingly there is only a minimal amount of academic literature that exists in the study of international training for homeland security practitioners and professionals. However, there is a significant amount of literature that covers U.S. professional and military exchanges from the International Military Education and Training (IMET) programs. Therefore, parallels and comparisons of how the Department of Defense (DoD) operates its programs and how the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) can enhance its international training programs are opportunities for exploration.

Part one of the literature review will address soft power, cultural exchanges, and how these tools of statecraft can assist in homeland security. The second part of the literature review will further examine official documents, such as the *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report* (QHSR), along with the State Department's *Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review* (QDDR), and *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR)—all of which make arguments for the increase in international training, cooperation and professional exchanges for homeland security officials. The next part will cover the role of the Department of Defense and the utilization of international training programs as a tool for national security, public diplomacy, and foreign policy. The final section of the literature review will concentrate on specific agencies in homeland security that focuses on promoting international training endeavors. Key agencies include the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers (FLETC) International Law Enforcement Academies (ILEAs), United States Coast Guard's (USCG) International Training Division (ITD), and U.S. Customs & Border Protection's (CBP) Office of International Affairs Training and Assistance Division.



## **A. LITERATURE ON SOFT POWER'S SUCCESS IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND ITS VALUE TO HOMELAND SECURITY**

The calls for greater emphasis on soft power have come from many different departments including the Department of Defense (DoD). In a speech at Kansas State University on March 3, 2010, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen stated:

Secretaries Clinton and Gates have called for more funding and more emphasis on our soft power, and I could not agree with them more. In fact, I would argue that in the future struggles of the asymmetric counterinsurgent variety, we ought to make it a precondition of committing our troops, that we will do so only if and when the other instruments of national power are ready to engage as well.<sup>3</sup>

Many leading government officials over the past decade have given similar speeches calling for further reviews in the utilization of different tools for global engagements. Unfortunately, the use of public diplomacy to advance foreign policy, which will ensure a more secure homeland, falls far short in dollars. The 2010 budget for the Department of Defense requested by the administration exceeded \$663 billion in discretionary budget authority<sup>4</sup> as compared to the State Department and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) 2012's budget proposal amounts to a paltry increase of only one percent from 2010's to \$47 billion.<sup>5</sup> Figure 1, taken from the National Priorities Project a non-governmental organization that focuses on government transparency, shows the Presidents proposed budget for 2013. The military's budget is 17 times greater than the amount the U.S. spends on other types of international relations.

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<sup>3</sup> U.S. Global Leadership Coalition, "Military Leaders," accessed August 2, 2012, <http://www.usglc.org/budget-center/on-the-record/military-leaders/>.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), "DoD Releases Fiscal 2010 Budget Proposal," news release, May 7, 2009, accessed August 2, 2012, <http://www.defense.gov/releases/release.aspx?releaseid=12652>.

<sup>5</sup> Mary B. Sheridan, "Budget 2012: State Department/USAID," *The Washington Post*, February 14, 2011, accessed August 2, 2012, <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2011/02/budget-2012-state-departmentus.html>.

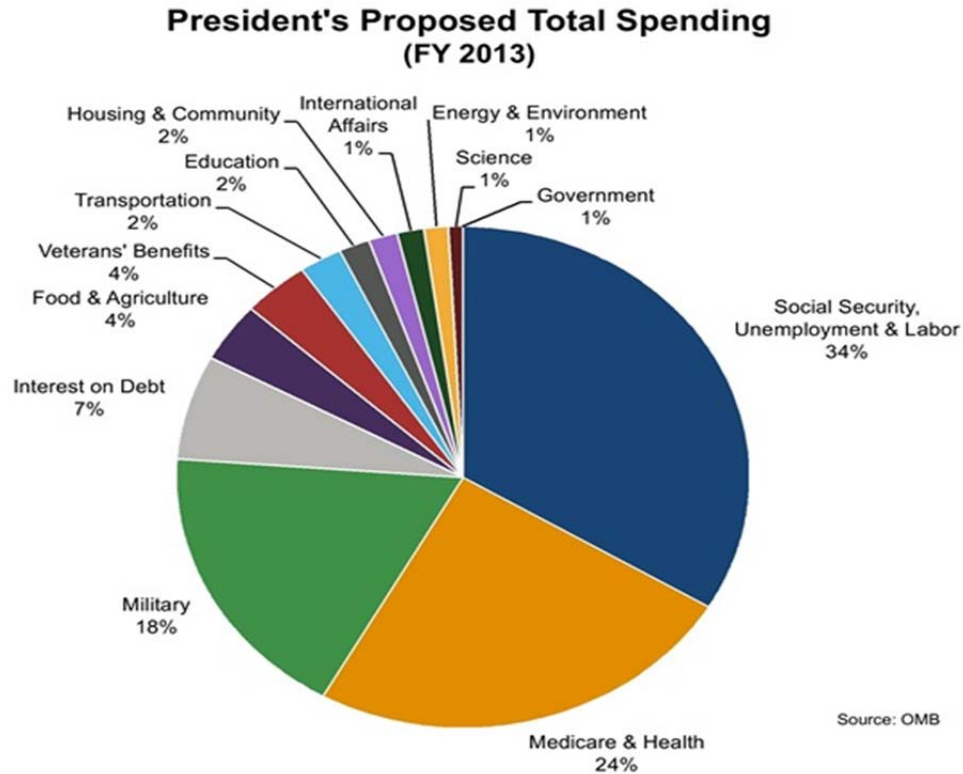


Figure 1. President's Proposed Total Spending 2013<sup>6</sup>

Joseph Nye, former dean of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and author of the 2004 book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (along with several other books on leadership), notes specifically power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the desired outcome. Furthermore, he argues it is the ability to get what one wants through attraction as opposed to coercion or payments. He suggests, when one is able to get others to admire their ideals they then begin to have the same ideals as one's own. Nye further notes nation-states do not have to spend as much on hard power, such as sticks (military) or carrots (inducements and payments).<sup>7</sup> Nye, who along with former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, were co-chairs of the Center for Strategic and International Studies Smart Power series. They promulgated that soft power

<sup>6</sup> National Priorities Project, "President's Budget Request FY 2013," accessed July 15, 2013, <http://nationalpriorities.org/media/uploads/webinars/presidents-budget-fy2013/presidentsbudfy2013final.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Perseus Books Group, 2004), 6.

is too often overlooked, and this is a part of the current problem as to why the United States' power has declined so drastically over the past decade. The image of the U.S. as a champion of democracy and a model for others to follow has been eroded.<sup>8</sup> The Smart Power Commission concluded, "America's image and influence had declined in recent years and that the United States had to move from exporting fear to inspiring optimism and hope."<sup>9</sup>

Literature reviewed on student and cultural exchange programs during the Eisenhower administration concluded that these exchanges had a significant impact on the demise of the Soviet Union. Over a 30-year period 50,000 Soviet citizens, many of them scientist, engineers, scholars and political leaders, came to the U.S. having participated in various exchanges. Additionally, tens of thousands visited other Western European countries.<sup>10</sup> A young Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (KGB) intelligence officer,<sup>11</sup> who studied at Columbia University in New York noted:

Exchanges were a Trojan Horse in the Soviet Union. They played a tremendous role in the erosion of the Soviet system. They opened up a closed society. They greatly influenced younger people who saw the world with more open eyes, and they kept infecting more and more people over the years.<sup>12</sup>

The U.S. had several objectives in promoting cultural exchanges with the former Soviet Union. The five objectives are stated in a National Security Council staff study, NSC 5607:

1. To broaden and deepen relations with the Soviet Union by expanding contacts between the people and institutions of the two countries.
2. Involve the Soviets in joint activities and develop habits of cooperation with the United States.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph S. Nye, "The War on Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, April 12, 2011, accessed December 12, 2012, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/04/12/the\\_war\\_on\\_soft\\_power?print=yes&hidecomments=yes&page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/04/12/the_war_on_soft_power?print=yes&hidecomments=yes&page=full).

<sup>10</sup> Yale Richmond, "Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: How the West Won," Whirled View, accessed December 12, 2012, <http://whirledview.typepad.com/whirledview/cultural.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Yale Richmond, "Cold War Interactions Reconsidered," presented at the Aleksanteri Institute's 9th Annual Conference, Helsinki, Finland, October 2009; Richmond, "Cultural Exchange."

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

3. End Soviet isolation and inward orientation by giving the Soviet Union a broader view of the world and of itself.
4. Improve U.S. understanding of the Soviet Union through access to its institutions and people.
5. Obtain the benefits of long-range cooperation in culture, education, and science and technology.<sup>13</sup>

Yale Richmond, author of *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: How the West Won*, argues that cultural exchanges encouraged pressure for reform and that this policy cost next to nothing when compared to the expenditures of defense and intelligence by the United States.<sup>14</sup> The Fulbright Program, which evolved following World War II, is an international educational exchange program sponsored by the U.S. government with the desired goal to “increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries.”<sup>15</sup> This program has had almost 310,000 participants take part.<sup>16</sup> Culturally understanding and establishing relationships in an ever-increasing globalized world is essential in all realms of national security. The literature drawing parallels on cultural exchanges and its effect on homeland security is limited and warrants further study.

#### **B. GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS CALL FOR ENHANCING GLOBAL ENGAGEMENTS: QUADRENNIAL HOMELAND SECURITY REVIEW REPORT, STATE DEPARTMENTS QUADRENNIAL DIPLOMACY AND DEVELOPMENT REVIEW, AND THE QUADRENNIAL DEFENSE REVIEW REPORT**

Several meaningful government reports have been released bearing significance on national and homeland security affairs. These reports assist policy makers to guide the direction of their organizations by analyzing strategic objectives and pointing out potential threats. The reports are general in nature, but they do call for greater international engagements on all levels; it is not surprising the reports focus considerably on soft power initiatives.

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<sup>13</sup> Yale Richmond, “Cultural Exchange.”

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Fulbright Scholar Program, “Fulbright Scholar Program,” last modified 2012, accessed December 28, 2012, <http://www.cies.org/fulbright>.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

The *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR) of 2010 argues that the threats and challenges that face the U.S. will require the integrated use of diplomacy, defense, intelligence, law enforcement and the economic tools of statecraft in order to improve partnerships and promote stability.<sup>17</sup> Homeland defense and security are a main priority of the QDR and are noted often throughout the document.

The Department of Homeland Security's *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report* (QHSR) along with the State Department's *Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review* (QDDR) both argue for the increase in international training, cooperation and professional exchanges for homeland security officials. In the QHSR, Secretary Napolitano noted that the report is consistent with the President's *2010 National Security Strategy*.<sup>18</sup> In that document, President Obama indicated that our relationships must be cultivated for not just U.S. security, but for our collective security and that alliances and engagements are force multipliers for combating our common interest in combating violent extremism—stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and securing nuclear materials.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, in the *Bottom-Up Review Report* (BUR), published by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in July 2010, emphasis is placed in the engagement between DHS and other U.S. government entities for the need to Deepen International Engagement—Security of our homeland begins far from our shores. The BUR stresses:

In order to fulfill its full range of missions, DHS must build on U.S. international partnerships to enhance our ability to identify vulnerabilities and to understand, investigate, and interdict threats at the earliest possible point, ideally before they become manifest, reach our shores, or disrupt the critical networks on which we depend. To that end, DHS will be developing a strategic framework for DHS international engagement to provide common policy objectives and priorities across the Department.

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<sup>17</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2010), accessed October 20, 2012, <http://www.defense.gov/qdr/qdr%20as%20of%2029jan10%201600.PDF>.

<sup>18</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: White House, 2010), accessed October 20, 2012, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

The framework will prioritize the Department's engagement, activities, and footprint abroad, and advance DHS's ability to meet future challenges around the world. This international framework will be consistent with the broad range of U.S. Government international priorities and in consultation and coordination with the Department of State and the U.S. Chiefs of Mission in foreign countries.<sup>20</sup>

This report promotes a DHS international engagement framework for the department to follow. Furthermore, the *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report* (QHSR) calls for the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to, "engage our international allies, and employ the full breadth of our national capacity—from the Federal Government."<sup>21</sup> Figure 2 notes the traditional aspects of homeland security along with the new and emerging threats and evolving hazards all of which will require engagement of the entire homeland security enterprise along with other federal departments, agencies and joint international efforts with our partners.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *DHS's Bottom-up Review Report* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2010), accessed on August 2, 2012, [http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/bur\\_bottom\\_up\\_review.pdf](http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/bur_bottom_up_review.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report: A Strategic Framework for Homeland Security* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2010), accessed August 13, 2012, [http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/qhsr\\_report.pdf](http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/qhsr_report.pdf).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.



Figure 2. The Evolution of Homeland Security<sup>23</sup>

Additional literature reviewed notes that the QDDR calls for civilian personnel from all federal agencies to advance America's core interest throughout the world. Secretary Clinton makes it clear, "to lead in this new century, we must often lead in new ways."<sup>24</sup> Secretary Clinton notes that through civilian power America can lead and improve its security and prosperity while promoting its values.<sup>25</sup> This can continue only if measures are taken to prioritize the civilian versus military training. The State Department's, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) funds the training of law enforcement programs to transform the justice systems and strengthen civilian based rule of law in other nation-states.<sup>26</sup> These programs have a critical role in the combating transnational crime and illicit threats, including fighting terrorist networks

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> U.S. Department of State and U.S. Agency of International Development, *Leading through Civilian Power: The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review*, U.S. Department of State, 2010, accessed on August 2, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/153108.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Sharron K. O'Neil, "Refocusing U.S.-Mexico Security Cooperation," Policy Innovation Memorandum no. 27, Council of Foreign Relations, last modified December 2012, accessed December 12, 2012, [http://www.cfr.org/mexico/refocusing-us-mexico-security-cooperation/p29595?cid=soc-Facebook-in-mexico-security\\_cooperation-121112](http://www.cfr.org/mexico/refocusing-us-mexico-security-cooperation/p29595?cid=soc-Facebook-in-mexico-security_cooperation-121112).

that are involved with the illegal drug trade.<sup>27</sup> In the QDR, it is noted that the United States Coast Guard (USCG) deploys international training teams to provide technical training and consulting services in maritime law enforcement, marine safety and environmental protection, small boat operations and maintenance, search and rescue, port security, and infrastructure development.<sup>28</sup>

In short, these reviews promote not only collaborative efforts within the U.S. government but call for greater engagements with other nation-states. This current literature directs the future of these government departments emphasizing the importance of public diplomacy through global engagements; all call for increasing and enhancing collaboration with our global partners.

### **C. LITERATURE ON THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS**

This next component of the literature review will explore material that is available on international training programs as an instrument of foreign policy and how these Department of Defense programs provide training for foreign military leaders and other personnel. The International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976 was passed by Congress and created the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program, which has offered training to foreign military partners.<sup>29</sup> The IMET training that is offered by the Department of Defense (DoD) is considered to be an important program by both the President and Congress is low in cost amounting to \$90.5 million in FY 2009.<sup>30</sup> There is an extraordinary amount of literature that is in favor of these training programs and the role they play in national security and foreign policy. On the other hand, specifically following 9/11 there is very little literature that is found that opposes exchange programs and other international training efforts.

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<sup>27</sup> U. S. Department of State, “FY 2012 Program and Budget Guide: Program Overview,” last modified 2012, accessed December 20, 2012 <http://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/rpt/pbg/fy2012/185676.htm>.

<sup>28</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*.

<sup>29</sup> U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Agencies Should Emphasize Human Rights Training and Improve Evaluations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2011), accessed July 19, 2013, <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-12-123>.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.



However, one incident involving Indonesian officers in East Timor did draw criticism by congressional members in 1999. Many of these officers had been trained by U.S. military officials or at U.S. military installations over the past 40 years.<sup>31</sup> Senator Harkin of Iowa and Senator Leahy of Vermont criticized the program and are argued for changes to be made in the funding for military aid and training.<sup>32</sup> Senator Harkin announced, “I have seen no evidence in my 24 years in Congress of one instance where because of American military involvement with another military that the Americans have stopped that foreign army from carrying out atrocities against their own people,” said Senator Harkin, “No evidence, none.”<sup>33</sup> Yet, other documents reviewed note that a well-run military can improve a country’s soft power image through military-to-military cooperation and other joint training programs.<sup>34</sup>

Arguments in other literature reviewed note the importance of police training in current DoD operations such as in Afghanistan and Iraq. The DoD realizes the importance of having and establishing a local police force immediately in its counterinsurgency (COIN) and stability operations.<sup>35</sup> The U.S. Army *Field Manual* (FM) 3-07, *Stability Operations*, emphasizes importance of civilian police forces during these operations and states, “community-oriented police services under civilian control clearly separate the roles of police and military are essential to success.”<sup>36</sup> The military realizes building relationships early on with local civilian police are essential to establishing stability in volatile regions. International training and other exchange programs with U.S.

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<sup>31</sup> Elizabeth Becker, “End to Jakarta Military Aid Urged,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1999, World.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph Nye, “The War on Soft Power.”

<sup>35</sup> Dennis Keller, *U.S. Military Forces and Police Assistance in Stability Operations: The Least-Worst Option to Fill the US Capacity Gap* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2010), Defense Technical Information Center, accessed on December 10, 2012, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a527772.pdf>.

<sup>36</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Stability Operations* (Field Manual 3-07) (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, 2008), 2–10.

counterparts assist to form healthy relationships and trust between foreign military and police forces. The U.S. military has the operational capacity to continue the growth of these programs.

In 2011, the Stimson Center, a nonprofit nonpartisan institution that promotes pragmatic approaches to global security, published a report titled, *A New Way Forward: Rebalancing Security Assistance Programs and Authorities*. The report notes the DoD's role in planning and budgeting for security assistance has rapidly grown in the past decade, and it recommends that civilian agencies should strengthen security assistance to foreign police agencies.<sup>37</sup> Literature reviewed on security assistance programs from the DoD may offer homeland security officials some insight, history, and a framework to follow in an effort to form models for future DHS international training objectives.

#### **D. LITERATURE ON INTERNATIONAL TRAINING THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY**

In 1995, President Clinton called for the establishment of the International Law Enforcement Academies (ILEAs) throughout the world in an effort to combat international drug dealing, criminal organizations, and to strengthen international cooperation in countering terrorism. The effectiveness of these programs cannot be underestimated as they strengthen ties with our international partners in the fight against transnational criminals and terrorist. In 2009, the ILEA's received 16 million dollars for the State Department to train mid-level and senior-level law enforcement officers, who had been vetted by U.S. embassies, in classes that averaged six to eight weeks.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, there are many ILEAs throughout the world with academies located in the U.S., Hungary, Thailand, El Salvador, and Botswana. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), United States Secret Service (USSS), Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF), United States

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<sup>37</sup>Gordon Adams and Rebecca Williams, *A New Way Forward: Rebalancing Security Assistance Programs and Authorities* (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, 2011) accessed December 10, 2012, [http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/A\\_New\\_Way\\_Forward\\_20110420\\_1.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/A_New_Way_Forward_20110420_1.pdf).

<sup>38</sup>Joseph A. Christoff, memo to John F. Tierney, *Multiple U.S. Agencies Provided Billions of Dollars to Train and Equip Foreign Police Forces* (GAO-11-402R) (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2011), accessed August 10, 2012, <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d11402r.pdf>.

Customs and Border Protection (CBP), Internal Revenue Service (IRS), the Department of State Diplomatic Security Service (DS), Department of Energy (DOE), and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers (FLETC) staff them.

ILEAs do more than just promote relationships through law enforcement and teach operational training for leaders. A broad range of foreign policy objectives are also a part of the ILEAs mission. Moreover, they serve to bolster democratic governance through the rule of law, promote social, political and economic stability by combating narcotics trafficking and crime.<sup>39</sup> In addition, criminal justice and security leaders not only form ties with U.S. government (USG) officials, but they also form regional ties with their local counterparts, which in turn encourages regional stability. Those attendees of this type of training may often return to their agencies and assume higher levels of leadership positions within their organizations.

According to the USCG *Foreign Affairs Policy Manual*, “the U.S. Coast Guard International Strategic Guidance (ISG), states that the USCG engages internationally to benefit the nation and further USCG missions.”<sup>40</sup> The USCG has an international training program and, through the Department of State’s Foreign Assistance Act, is authorized to train foreign partners under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program.<sup>41</sup> The USCG’s International Training Division (ITD), located at Coast Guard Training Center Yorktown, Virginia, has IDT teams that are mobile education and training teams. These teams export training on topics such as: port security, search and rescue, maritime law enforcement, small boat operations, safety and environmental practices, and other emergency response and incident management training.<sup>42</sup> In addition to the export training, the USCG offers resident training programs

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<sup>39</sup> U.S. Department of State, “Statement of Purpose,” U.S. Department of State, accessed August 09, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/j/inl/c/crime/ilea/c11242.htm>.

<sup>40</sup> U.S. Coast Guard, *U.S. Coast Guard Foreign Affairs Policy Manual* (Washington, DC: U.S. Coast Guard, 2012), accessed on November 9, 2012, [http://www.uscg.mil/directives/cim/5000-5999/CIM\\_5710\\_5.pdf](http://www.uscg.mil/directives/cim/5000-5999/CIM_5710_5.pdf).

<sup>41</sup> Michael Arnold & Kevin Lunday, “U.S. Coast Guard International Training: A Unique Instrument of Foreign Policy,” *Proceedings* (summer 2009): 92, accessed November 10, 2012, [http://www.uscg.mil/proceedings/summer2009/articles/92\\_Arnold,%20Lunday\\_Coast%20Guard%20International%20Training.pdf](http://www.uscg.mil/proceedings/summer2009/articles/92_Arnold,%20Lunday_Coast%20Guard%20International%20Training.pdf).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

to foreign students at many venues across the United States.<sup>43</sup> International training programs brought forth by the USCG use soft power as a vehicle to advance foreign policy goals and increase homeland security efforts.

U.S. Customs and Border Protection's Office of International Affairs (CBP/INA) works with other U.S. and foreign government officials in providing training to our partners. Technical and training assistance is offered in many areas of border security and commercial operations.<sup>44</sup> According to the U.S. State Department, part of CBP's international training and assistance is the coordination of over 200 technical assistance programs to thousands of foreign participants each year. The courses covered are: weapons of mass destruction (WMD), anti-narcotics, port security, supply chain security, and integrity.<sup>45</sup> Interagency cooperation between the State Department Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) and CBP promote international cooperation. CBP designs and implements the programs for its foreign counterparts and the INL funds the projects.<sup>46</sup>

CBP's goals stated in the U.S. Department of State's Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, *International Control Strategy Report* of 2010, is to offer overseas enforcement training programs in supply chain security, detection, interdiction and investigation, concealment methods, bulk currency smuggling, false and fraudulent documents; train-the-trainer, anti-corruption and targeting, risk management and x-ray systems.<sup>47</sup> Attendees of the programs offered by ILEA, USCG, and CBP are most likely the elites and future leaders in their organizations and will be in positions to make or influence policies. Promoting joint international training tours between CBP and USCG will cover all aspects of the global maritime domain and may avoid redundancy.

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Department of State, *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 2012), 55 accessed on November 11, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/184314.pdf>.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 55.

It is imperative that students garner a better understanding of international cooperation due to the fact that they are most likely to work and collaborate with other international partners. Unfortunately, research and literature as to the effectiveness of international training has been poorly documented, as have the graduates of said programs. This is unfortunate as that could be useful data for analysis.

In the future, it will be essential for the growth of these programs to be studied closely and analyze their effectiveness in order for the cost to be justified. The U.S. law 22 USC 2347g Records Regarding Foreign Participants requires attendees of International Military Education Training (IMET) programs to be tracked by the DoD.<sup>48</sup> According to a report published by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), agencies can use this tracking of IMET graduates to gather basic career information and understand how these individuals are being utilized in their countries and organizations.<sup>49</sup> In times of austerity, tracking results and proving the program's effectiveness will be imperative to provide funding for this type of specific training.

## **E. LITERATURE REVIEW SUMMARY**

Addressed in this review is the literature that has been introduced over the past decade that advocates soft power. After examining the role and history of this tool of statecraft, soft power tool can play a greater role in enhancing U.S. foreign policy, which will inevitably create a more secure homeland. The review notes that government agencies, such as the Department of State and the Department of Homeland Security, make sound arguments for increasing international engagements as a force multiplier in countering transnational criminals and improving homeland security. The U.S. is such a diverse nation that even at the local level international relations and engagements is essential for continued economic growth and security.

Finally, the literature review recognizes the roles that individual institutions, such as the ILEA's and agencies like the USCG and CBP International Training Divisions,

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<sup>48</sup> Legal Information Institute, "22 USC § 2347g Records Regarding Foreign Participants," Legal Information Institute, last modified 2012, accessed on December 10, 2012, <http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/22/2347g>.

<sup>49</sup> U.S. Governmental Accountability Office, *Agencies Should Emphasize Human Rights*.

have in an increasingly globalized world. Here again, there is a lack of information and research that supports the effectiveness of soft power and international training. Most of the literature is at the practitioner level and found in professional journals and government reports. Few studies have been published in scholarly or peer reviewed journals arguing either for or against international training and other professional exchanges. Future efforts and studies should concentrate on the integration of U.S. foreign policy efforts and security of the homeland to help support its validity. In an effort to combat international criminal organizations and improve homeland security, many federal, state, and local governmental agencies have taken part in international training and professional exchanges with global law enforcement personal. A program that supports the theory and usefulness of such global diplomacy and the practice of police exchanges with many different countries throughout the world is the Los Angeles County Sherriff's Department.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Los Angeles Sherriff's Department, *Police Diplomacy: A Global Trust* (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Sherriff's Department, 2010), accessed August 13, 2012, [http://file.lacounty.gov/lasd/cms1\\_145351.pdf](http://file.lacounty.gov/lasd/cms1_145351.pdf).

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### **III. BACKGROUND: SOFT POWER IN HOMELAND SECURITY AND THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE**

#### **A. SOFT POWER: WHAT IS IT AND WHY IS IT USED?**

It is better to exemplify values than to teach them.

—Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame (1952–1987)

The term “soft power” was first coined by Professor Joseph S. Nye, Jr., who was the Dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He claimed at the time that soft power could help the U.S. and its allies reduce the appeal of terrorist organizations and deter individuals from joining them in the first place.<sup>51</sup> In a relational sense, power is the ability to get someone to do something they might not normally do. Soft power in its purest form is attracting others to one’s ideals and vision through education and exposure. Soft power, as defined by Nye, is the ability to have influence over and attract others to one’s own ideals and values; it is persuasion and influence. The Statue of Liberty, Hollywood, Doctors without Borders, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation are all a few of the examples that have an attractive appeal and global influence for the United States.<sup>52</sup>

Furthermore, Nye specifically notes that power and leadership is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get one’s desired outcome.<sup>53</sup> Nye argues that soft power is the ability to get what one wants through attraction (soft power) as opposed to coercion or payments (hard power). When a person is able to get others to admire his or her ideals and values; then others begin to have the same ideals as that person. Then, in cases like this, nation states do not have to spend as much on hard power, such as sticks (military) or carrots (inducements).<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Michael Chertoff, *Homeland Security: Assessing the First Five Years* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

<sup>52</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power, Public Affairs* (New York: Norton Publishing 2004), x.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, x.



Hard power and the use of coercion and threats could be anything from economic sanctions to actual war. It should be emphasized that both hard power and soft power have their place, usefulness, and limitations. Moreover, it is not whether one is better than the other; it is just that all tools in a nation-state's toolbox should be utilized. In Figure 3 the differences are noted between how hard and soft power can be used.

Nye believes that the U.S. has not done a very good job recently in its soft power efforts.<sup>55</sup> This is easily shown by the disproportionate amount that is invested in the two types of power. The U.S. spends over 400 times more on hard power than it does on soft power.<sup>56</sup> The U.S. spends just over a billion towards public diplomacy and getting out its message; this is about the same as Britain and France.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, the spending on soft power falls woefully short.

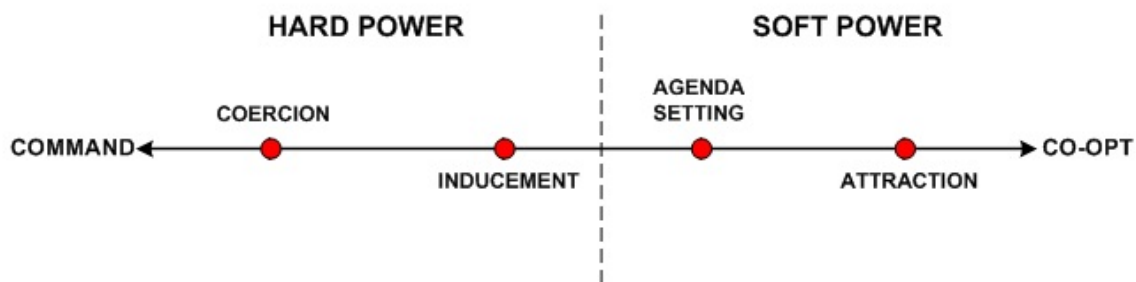


Figure 3. Hard Power versus Soft Power<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Smart Power Speaker Series: A Book Conversation” [Joseph S. Nye], Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 24, 2008, accessed on August 11, 2013, <http://csis.org/event/smart-power-speaker-series-smart-leadership-book-conversation>.

<sup>56</sup> Nye, *Soft Power*, *Public Affairs*, xiii.

<sup>57</sup> Joseph S. Nye, “Squandering the U.S. ‘Soft Power’ Edge,” *International Educator* (January–February 2007): 4–6.

<sup>58</sup> *Value of Dissent Blog*, “Power, Soft Power and China,” posted July 19, 2012, accessed on August 11, 2013, <http://valueofdissent.blogspot.com/2012/07/power-soft-power-china.html>.

## B. BRIEF HISTORY OF SOFT POWER

Soft power is a relatively new and unfamiliar term that has become popular recently in academic and governmental circles, specifically in the debate and development of national security policies. Although, this new term has now started to have an impact on policies and leadership, it has been a part of government since the ancient Greeks. The ancient Greeks were the first to use the word democracy, understanding the role of persuasion and influence in attempting to achieve a political goal.<sup>59</sup> This is argued in detail in a piece titled, “Persuasion in Ancient Greece and Rome,” by Jon Hall. In the article, Hall notes, the art of persuasion was a major part of the ancients educational system and the ancients understood that persuasion can be a force for both good and evil.<sup>60</sup> Some might argue one of the more persuasive and influential pieces of literature ever produced in the history of the U.S. was the pamphlet *Common Sense*, written by the political activist and author Thomas Paine in 1776. This turned out to be one of the most powerful weapons of the American Revolution. The power of the word certainly outweighed that of the sword in rallying the colonist during the American War of Independence.

Another influential work emerged in 1958, when Hannah Arendt wrote in his work, *The Human Condition*, “To be political, to live in a polis, meant that everything was decided through words and persuasion and not through force and violence.”<sup>61</sup> This type of dialogue has had an important role on U.S. policy both domestically and internationally, since the infancy of the nation. The art of persuasion and influence have been the cornerstone of U.S. international engagement since the end of World War II.

In the 1950s, Dwight D. Eisenhower argued for soft power leadership skills long before soft power became a buzzword. Eisenhower stated that leadership is the ability, “to get people to work together, not only because you tell them to do so and enforce your orders but because they instinctively want to do it for you.... You don’t lead by hitting

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<sup>59</sup> Jon Hall, “Persuasion in Ancient Greece and Rome,” *ADR Bulletin* 9, no. 10 (2007): Article 2, Bond University, accessed July 19, 2013, <http://epublications.bond.edu.au/adr/vol9/iss10/2>.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 26–27.

people over the head, that's assault, not leadership."<sup>62</sup> Eisenhower also defined leadership as, "persuading the other fellow to want to do what you want him to do."<sup>63</sup> Moreover, many believe President Eisenhower to be the godfather of modern U.S. diplomacy; his use of soft power is evident in his words and actions.

Present U.S. diplomacy efforts would be wise to adhere to some of the advice permeated by the Eisenhower administration. Eisenhower predicted, "The only way to win World War III is to prevent it."<sup>64</sup> This type of engagement has also been considered by academics in fighting the war against religious extremist. To compare the Cold War to the current conflict against religious extremist and terrorist, Reza Aslan argues in his book, *Beyond Fundamentalism: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization*, that global jihadists believe that they are fighting a cosmic war and that on earth they are merely human actors. His argument is similar to Eisenhower's did during the Cold War. There is "one way to win a cosmic conflict and that is refuse to fight it."<sup>65</sup>

### **C. SUCCESS/CHALLENGES OF SOFT POWER AND ITS USE BY THE UNITED STATES**

Both Truman and Eisenhower Administrations went on to foster global programs that uplifted millions out of poverty. Some of these programs such as the United Nations, Marshall Plan, World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund along with a host of other international and regional organizations, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which brought forth positive results in encouraging globalization. These international organizations all had a soft power tone in the promotion of global security, which enhanced U.S. national security throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Other successes of soft power could be related to the U.S. Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, the opening of markets and trade barriers, along with the State

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<sup>62</sup> Alan Axelrod, *Eisenhower on Leadership: Ike's Enduring Lessons in Total Victory Management* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006), 120–283.

<sup>63</sup> Wesley Clark, "The Potency of Persuasion," *CNN Money*, November 8, 2007, accessed July 19, 2013, [http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune\\_archive/2007/11/12/100954555/index.htm](http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/2007/11/12/100954555/index.htm).

<sup>64</sup> "Dwight D. Eisenhower," Eisenhower Presidential Library & Museum, accessed July 19, 2013, [http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/all\\_about\\_ike/quotes.html](http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/all_about_ike/quotes.html).

<sup>65</sup> Reza Aslan, *Beyond Fundamentalism: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization* (New York: Random House, 2009), 6–12.

Department's libraries and cultural centers abroad. Reflecting upon history, and specifically the outcome of the Cold War, the roles that influence and persuasion have had should encourage present and future policy makers to place a greater emphasis on the use of soft power.

### **1. The Cold War and Soft Power**

There are a variety of other successful soft power examples from the free flowing tools of information, such as Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and other tools that currently disseminate meaningful information to those who are not informed. Radio Free Europe was used as just such an instrument of success by informing global citizens behind the Iron Curtain about western information. The role soft power played and the influence it had on weakening the belief of Marxist-Leninist ideology was a significant catalyst that assisted in the demise of the former Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies. This tool of soft power should never be underestimated in the strategic arena and it can be used in the twenty-first century fight against international extremist and in the overall security of the United States. Figure 4 shows the current role that soft power can have in modern diplomacy.

Soft power played a pivotal role in the successful outcome of the Cold War. However, there are other reasons as to why the Cold War ended without a great military battle between the two super powers. Many scholars are convinced that the containment theory, of U.S. diplomat and political scientist George F. Kennan, was the major factor in defeating the Soviet bloc. Often overlooked is the fact that people in these communist states were introduced to western ideals through some of the soft power methods, as previously mentioned. In short, a significant component that ended the Cold War was that citizens of the communist bloc states were introduced to information about western success and ideals.

This same approach can be reconfigured and applied to address the perception of the U.S. in many parts of the Muslim world. The Middle East Broadcasting Networks, Inc. (MBN), which is a non-profit news organization that operates Alhuraa Television and Radio Sawa are currently attempting to exchange ideas with Muslims in North Africa

and the Middle East.<sup>66</sup> A benefit to this type of soft power and to similar efforts is that they leave a small U.S. footprint. In the current conflict against jihadists the smaller the print the better.

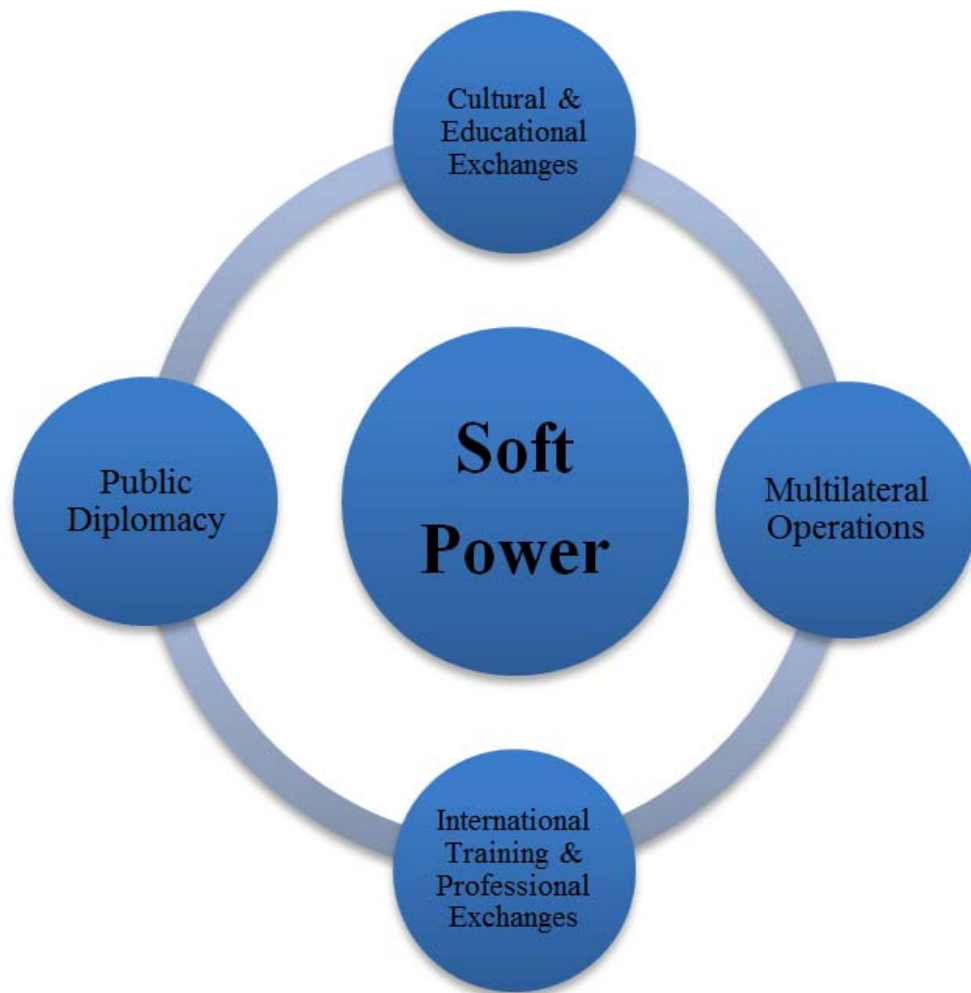


Figure 4. The Role of Soft Power in Statecraft

## 2. Cultural Exchanges and the Fulbright Scholars Program

Arguably, one of the most successful uses of soft power has evolved from cultural exchanges and diplomacy in the effort of student exchanges. The Fulbright Scholars Program is an educational exchange program that evolved following World War II.

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<sup>66</sup> “Voice of America,” Broadcasting Board of Governors, accessed January 30, 2013, <http://www.bbg.gov/broadcasters/mbn/>.

Senator J. William Fulbright authored and introduced this bill to congress in 1945 to<sup>67</sup> encourage the “promotion of international goodwill through the exchange of students in the fields of education, culture, and science.”<sup>68</sup> The Fulbright program was developed to struggle “for the minds of men.”<sup>69</sup> The Fulbright Program was not developed or intended to serve as a national security or foreign policy goal; it was developed as a non-propagandist program. Simply put, it was a method to improve relations, to gain a better understanding of others, and for others to have a greater understanding of U.S. culture. The relationships built were merely a side effect of the program.

Following World War II the U.S. was extremely involved in postwar reconstruction, which involved countering Soviet influence. The byproduct of programs, such as the Fulbright, was that it had enormous global influence by targeting elites, who would one day become decision makers in their regions and other areas of influence.

The unintentional foreign policy successes of the Fulbright Program took place when the students, who participated from nation-states such as the Soviet Union, after visiting and studying in the U.S., went home and planted the seeds for future changes in their nations domestic and foreign policy goals. Many international relations scholars believe that collapse of the Soviet Union was due to the exchanges of people and ideas.

The Fulbright Program is consistent of the liberal international relations theory from the political and philosophical theories of John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Immanuel Kant.<sup>70</sup> In the traditional sense, liberalism encourages the ideals of individual freedom, political participation, private property, and equal opportunity of all citizens.<sup>71</sup> The liberal international relations theory, along with the Fulbright Scholars

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<sup>67</sup> “Program History,” Fulbright Online, accessed February 18, 2013, <http://us.fulbrightonline.org/about/history>.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Walter Johnson and Francis James Colligan, *The Fulbright Program: A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965), 12.

<sup>70</sup> Michael Doyle and Stefano Recchia, “Liberalism and International Relations,” *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, accessed May 12, 2013, [http://www.stefanorecchia.net/1/137/resources/publication\\_1040\\_1.pdf](http://www.stefanorecchia.net/1/137/resources/publication_1040_1.pdf).

<sup>71</sup> Michael Doyle, “Liberalism in World Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (1986): 1151–1169.

Program, encourages bilateral and multilateral relations between states and non-state actors that foster mutual understandings. These in turn will create a safer and a more secure international community.

### **3. Challenges of Soft Power**

One of the challenges in understanding soft power is that it is difficult to track progress related to influence and persuasion and, in turn, its influence on the rule of law and human rights. Resistance to soft power as a useful tool to relationship building comes from individuals who find the methodology behind it hard to follow and research. It is not a one size fits all science. Americans are traditionally scientifically driven, meaning that they seek proven results related to a given theory that can be charted, graphed, and plotted. Soft power is no such animal. In order to be successful, it has to be constantly evolving and pliable so that it can be tailored to fit a given situation.

Former Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld struggled initially with understanding soft power. When a general asked for his thoughts on the topic, the former secretary simply noted, “I don’t understand it.”<sup>72</sup> This is still a challenge for many appointed and elected government officials. There is a great fear from the political establishment of appearing to be soft on any type of national security issue. The U.S. is a society that often expects immediate results and craves immediate gratification. Soft power offers neither. It is a long-term investment in diplomacy with no guaranteed outcome. This is why hard power, although more expensive, can be more appealing. A bomb dropped on a building provides immediate results. Military battles, more personnel and equipment are easily quantifiable, and success or failure can be clearly measured. In addition, an entire homeland security industrial enterprise has been created in the past decade. This is much like what President Eisenhower offered in his “Farewell Address” when he warned the nation of the “industrial military complex.”<sup>73</sup> The usage of soft

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<sup>72</sup> Joseph S. Nye “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics,” presented to Council on Foreign Relations, New York, April 12, 2004, accessed February 11, 2013, <http://www.cfr.org/us-strategy-and-politics/soft-power-means-success-world-politics/p6939>.

<sup>73</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, *Washington Rules: America’s Path to Permanent War* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2010), 32.

power does not bring huge profits to big business and industry, and in a state that has enormous investments in military hardware; this causes challenges for soft power.

The cost of soft power is certainly less than that of hard but the results can be difficult to see; therefore, it is a more difficult sell and it is an investment that takes time to develop and show results. Often the effects of a small soft power exchange can begin on such a small scale the unfolding may take years to actually behold. A foreign national may take an idea learned in the U.S. back to his country and implement that idea on a community level. The wave of effects ripples throughout the small community. Will we ever see the change? Will there be a report derived from this change? Will a study ensue to follow its effectiveness or failure? Most likely not, however, if even on a small scale a positive outcome was brought about, then the effort was a success. If many small tactical efforts are successful it will lead to long-term strategic success. Still the adversity of soft power is that it is not tangible therefore it is problematic for many to understand. In short, soft power is difficult to visualize or quantify.

Colin S. Gray makes several compelling arguments for the challenges of soft power in his work titled, *Hard Power and Soft Power: The Utility of Military Force in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. In this book, Gray notes that soft power is not solely controlled or owned by the government to the same degree as hard power.<sup>74</sup> Many entities are involved in soft power, and it is not easily bundled up into one neat package. Gray also challenges soft power in that not all cultures are receptive of U.S. values and ideals; that in some cases American soft power could add up in the negative and not the positive.<sup>75</sup> Soft power has the potential to backfire in these instances. That this effort may backfire is a continuous challenge to gauge the outcome and effect that soft power has in diplomacy. Also, soft power in the wrong hands can have horrible consequences. In some cases, it can offer morally superior means to certain goals. Contrast the consequences of Mohandas Gandhi or Martin Luther King Jr.'s choice of soft power with Yasir Arafats choice of the gun. Gandhi and King were able to attract moderate majorities over time,

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<sup>74</sup> Colin S. Gray, *Hard Power and Soft Power: The Utility of Military Force in the 21st Century* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2011) accessed February 3, 2013, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB1059.pdf>.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.



and the consequences were impressive, both in effectiveness, and in ethical terms. By contrast, Arafat's strategy of hard power killed innocent Israelis and drove Israeli moderates into the arms of the hard right.<sup>76</sup>

#### **D. BUDGETS AND REDISTRIBUTION/SOFT POWER AT THE SHORT END OF THE STICK**

The former Secretary of Defense and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Robert Gates made a case for soft power at a speech given in Wichita, Kansas in 2008 when he remarked:

This year's budget for the Department of Defense—not counting operations in Iraq and Afghanistan—is nearly half a trillion dollars. The total foreign affairs budget request for the State Department is \$36 billion—less than what the Pentagon spends on health care alone. Secretary Rice has asked for a budget increase for the State Department and an expansion of the Foreign Service. The need is real.<sup>77</sup>

He continued by asserting, “What is clear to me is that there is a need for a dramatic increase in spending on the civilian instruments of national security—diplomacy, strategic communications, foreign assistance, civic action, and economic reconstruction and development.”<sup>78</sup> This is an area that can be further addressed in homeland security efforts. As noted homeland security and national security are intertwined and investing in the efforts for international law enforcement training and exchanges is a wise investment in long-term security. Redistribution of budgets will enhance civilian law enforcement efforts throughout the world and assist soft power in negating the aftereffects hard power actions. Both of these tools of statecraft are essential for homeland and national security and in the promotion of U.S. interest. The combined use of use soft and hard power has been used by former Secretary of State Clinton in the QDDR and as mentioned is known as smart power.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Joseph S. Nye “Think Again: Soft Power,” *Foreign Policy*, accessed March 20, 2013, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2006/02/22/think\\_again\\_soft\\_power](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2006/02/22/think_again_soft_power).

<sup>77</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, “Landon Lecture (Kansas State University) Remarks as Delivered by Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, Manhattan, Kansas,” November 26, 2007, accessed July 15, 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1199>.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> U.S. Department of State. “Statement of Purpose.”

#### **E. SOFT POWER LEADERSHIP FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY APPARATUS**

Combining the tools of power leads to smart leadership. Leadership is the tool of statecraft and security that the U.S. has led in for decades. The President's *National Security Strategy of 2010* calls for renewing American leadership at home and abroad.<sup>80</sup> This strong foundation of American leadership will determine the strength and influence reaching far beyond the U.S. borders.<sup>81</sup>



Figure 5. Hard Power and Hierarchical Leadership and Information Disconnect

According to Joseph Nye, leadership is mobilizing people for a purpose and the leader assists a group in creating and achieving shared goals.<sup>82</sup> Nye, suggest that leaders today are in the center of a circle as opposed to being at the top of pyramid.<sup>83</sup> The

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<sup>80</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy*.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *The Powers to Lead* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2008), 18

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 2.

pyramid style of leadership (as seen in Figure 5) fits well in a hierarchal style that was a part of the Industrial Revolution. The leader makes the decision and that is it. However, as Figure 5 notes, the information flow can often be difficult from top to bottom or visa versa. Leaders, who are in the center of the circle, may have an easier path for disseminating and receiving information (see Figure 6).

The leader who places himself in the center of the circle may have an easier time coordinating through persuasion, attraction and influence. As demonstrated in Figure 6, this leader in the circle will have to influence subordinates below him or her and others who are, along with influencing equals and possibly other outside members of an organization.



Figure 6. Soft Power and the Flow of Information

Improving leadership at the global level for U.S. will improve persuasion and influence of both allies and adversaries. This is the key to smart leadership. In the current globalized and information age, the leadership of the U.S. should be from the center of the circle.

The role of international training and exchange efforts by the DoD and DHS can be a driving force in the attempt to have a greater impact on national security by using soft tools over hard. As a global leader, and by calling upon international partners, the U.S. can encourage and improve law enforcement and judicial efforts in fighting international criminal organizations. As the White House notes in its 2010 *National Security Strategy*, the “modernization of institutions, strengthening of international norms, and enforcement of international law is not a task for the United States alone—but together with like-minded nations, it is a task we can lead.”<sup>84</sup>

In a piece titled, *Contemporary Leadership and Intercultural Competence*, author Michael Moodian argues that a multicultural personality can be cultivated by building a foundation of cultural knowledge, developing cultural competency skills (communication methods) and accepting different world views.<sup>85</sup> In an age of modern technology offering a wide array of cyber training, “There is no substitute for person-to-person contact across international and cultural borders.”<sup>86</sup> Since, homeland security has a direct nexus to the international community; becoming not only culturally literate is essential, it should be paramount. Leaders in homeland security need to understand the complexities of culture. This will allow them to be the catalyst of transformational leaders that will inspire people from many different backgrounds to counter international criminal organizations and enhance national border security.

Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is an advocate of smart power in order to exercise and strengthen global leadership. In the QDDR, Secretary Clinton stresses the need to elevate civilian power (soft) alongside of military power (hard) as equal pillars in

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Michael A. Moodian, *Contemporary Leadership and Intercultural Competence* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), 147.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 119.

U.S. foreign policy and that by integrating these two powers into smart power the U.S. will enhance its efforts in global security, which is called for by the President in the NSS of 2010.<sup>87</sup> Strong leadership and both tools of hard and soft power are critical elements in the strategic success for U.S. security. The argument that one power is better than the other is irrelevant. Both are essential elements. All the elements of soft power will not suffice in changing the attitude of a determined radicalized jihadist. These extremists can only be dealt with via hard power. Nonetheless, the byproduct of this determined radicalized jihadist is his theoretical influence, and it can be countermanded by soft power. Soft power can and will improve the roll of U.S. leadership as well as enhance the image of the U.S. through global diplomacy.

#### **F. THE APPLICABILITY OF SOFT POWER IN HOMELAND SECURITY STATECRAFT**

In the current conflict to prevent violent extremists from committing acts of terrorism soft power can be a key national and homeland security long-term strategic tool. In a 2008 article, published in the *Harvard International Review*, “Preventing Terrorism: A Case for Soft Power,” Former Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff argued, “in order to prevent the growth of terrorist groups themselves, the United States must pursue strategies to win nations and peoples to its side.”<sup>88</sup> Only through the conviction of sound values and leadership principles will other states and peoples be won over and have a more positive view of the United States. This advice can be adhered to at all levels of national security. The instruments that soft power offers for a more secure homeland are as follows: listen to our foreign partners along with the exchange of information and that of student exchanges whether it be government-to-government or civilian-to-civilian.

By applying more soft power techniques through the role of international training professional exchanges, DHS will advance U.S. strategic foreign policies while

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<sup>87</sup> U.S. Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development, *Leading Through Civilian Power*.

<sup>88</sup> Michael Chertoff, “Preventing Terrorism: A Case for Soft Power,” June 22, 2008, accessed July 19, 2013, <http://www.freepatentsonline.com/article/Harvard-International-Review/184710761.html>.

advancing security in the near term. Greater collaboration amongst the federal law enforcement entities from the DHS, DOS, and Department of Justice (DOJ) will assist in avoiding redundancy and overlap while ensuring that the taxpayers' dollars are spent fruitfully.

Since the *9/11 Commission Report* was published in 2004, many changes have been adhered to across government. However, many recommendations have not been implemented. The report argues that now is the time for reflection and reevaluation. It encourages the U.S. to consider not just what to do in the shape and objectives of a strategy, but on how to do it as in organizing government in different ways.<sup>89</sup> These are recommendations that call for a new way of doing business. For over a decade, diplomacy has mainly been a part of the DoD while civilian agencies have taken minor role. Due to the vast size of government and the many stakeholders involved with international training and implementing other soft power tools, it is certain that there is a great deal of overlapping interest. Reorganizing government in an effort to further civilian power will be critical for the role for DHS in its international efforts for the future.

It is clear through the study of history that the strategic goals of U.S. national security should include a greater emphasis on soft power strategies. Whenever U.S. government officials, either military or civilians, have an opportunity to work with foreign governments, this is a win for soft power. There are many mid-level military and civilian government officials who have had enormous influence and persuasion over some of the highest-ranking officials in their host countries. Therefore, a greater emphasis on military and law enforcement official exchanges will improve the image of the U.S. and this trickle down affect will improve homeland security. This benefits the U.S. and the global community. Of course, none of this is without cost. In addition, again, more redistribution of funds will enhance the smart power programs that are necessary for a safer twenty-first century.

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<sup>89</sup> National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States* (Washington, DC: National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 2004), 361.

The DHS can use soft power as a part of its tool belt in statecraft and diplomacy. In fact, soft power is currently used throughout the homeland security apparatus in many of its international law enforcement engagement programs. Many DHS entities use the tool without truly understanding its use or purpose. Furthermore, DHS agencies that define soft power and encourage its use in overseas initiatives will in time wreak its benefits. Explaining the strengths of soft power to DHS leadership should open doors for a greater understanding of the tool, and, in turn, encouraging leaders to implement training that will further the causal effect of this tool.

#### **IV. EFFORTS BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ON INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL MILITARY EXCHANGES AND THE LESSONS LEARNED**

When people are entering upon a war they do things the wrong way around. Action comes first and it is only when they have already suffered that they begin to think.

—Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*

The *National Security Strategy* of 2010 argues that the cornerstone of collective action will be our engagement with other countries and the relationships that the U.S. has with its allies along with our shared interest and values in promoting mutual security and prosperity throughout the world.<sup>90</sup> With this in mind the efforts of international training that is being conducted by the DoD cannot be over emphasized. While addressing an Army War College graduating class, former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage said,

The war we are fighting today against terrorism is a multifaceted fight. We have to use every tool in our toolkit to wage this war—diplomacy, finance, intelligence, law enforcement, and of course, military power—and we are developing new tools as we go along.<sup>91</sup>

As Deputy Armitage noted, diplomacy, intelligence, and law enforcement are essential tools, and DHS has a critical role supporting these elements in the international arena.<sup>92</sup> DHS can efficiently enhance its international training and professional exchange programs by following formats already set in place by the Department of Defense (DoD). The framework that established by the DoD can be a roadmap on future international exchange programs initiated by the DHS. These programs are tools of national security

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<sup>90</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy*.

<sup>91</sup> U.S. Department of State, “International Information Programs,” last modified May 12, 2004, accessed July 15, 2013, <http://www.iwar.org.uk/news-archive/2004/05-13-4.htm>.

<sup>92</sup> “Armitage Stresses Need for Civil-Military Collaboration.” *The Information Warfare Cite*. Last modified May 12, 2004. Accessed October 21, 2013. <http://www.iwar.org.uk/news-archive/2004/05-13-4.htm>.



and foreign policy DoD schools offer many different types of training programs to both civilian and military leaders from foreign nations.

The Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) is the lead DoD organization that facilitates global security cooperation programs; the DCSAs responsibilities include the processes, training and financial management that is needed to implement the security cooperation internationally and within DoD.<sup>93</sup> Its mission areas include:

- Foreign Military Sales
- Foreign Military Financing
- International Military Education and Training
- Humanitarian Assistance, Disaster Relief & Mine Action
- Regional Centers<sup>94</sup>

This next chapter will review the history of international training and professional exchanges that are sponsored by the State Department and conducted by the Department of Defense. The chapter will also review the purpose and goals for these exchanges along with its usefulness for the Department of Homeland Security.

#### **A. BRIEF HISTORY AND PURPOSE FOR INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES IN PROMOTING STABILITY**

Regional stability is not a new concept for promoting economic growth and security. The Athenians, who created the world's first democracy, realized that trade, stability, and security were all essential elements of what a state needs to experience growth. The Athenians accumulated their wealth through trade and shipping and this could have only been accomplished through peace and order. Thomas P. M. Barnett, author of *The Pentagon's New Map*, argues that states will only obtain foreign direct investment, once stability and security is reached.<sup>95</sup> He argues in a section titled "No

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<sup>93</sup> Defense Security Cooperation Agency, "International Training Programs," Defense Security Cooperation Agency, accessed August 29, 2012, <http://www.dsca.mil>.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Thomas P. M. Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2004), 228–229.

Rules No Money,” that connectivity will only take place for the disconnected state once it becomes a stabilized state through security and rules of law.<sup>96</sup>

International training and other professional government-to-government exchanges to promote security has always been an instrument of national security and foreign policy. The promotion of regional stability and the rapid growth of the global economy as noted have up lifted billions out of poverty. Nevertheless, globalization has brought forth many security challenges for the United States; yet, history shows that by promoting international engagement that stability and security will assist in economic growth.

## **B. AN EARLIER ATTEMPT AT INTERNATIONAL POLICE TRAINING**

The U.S. government first established an effective institutionalized civilian police training capacity in 1954 that lasted till 1974.<sup>97</sup> The purpose was to stabilize regions by improving security through civilian administered law enforcement organizations or local police within that community. The training was organized and implemented by the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) and later by its successor, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). USAID, which first established an International Police Academy in Washington, DC, eventually trained more than 5,000 police officers with an additional 3,000 attending specialized courses from 77 countries.<sup>98</sup> The academy was closed in 1975 by Congress following acquisitions, that alleged torture techniques had been taught at the institution and that this would damage the image of the United States; the reluctance to be affiliated with local police has continued to plague the United States.<sup>99</sup> The distancing of the U.S. government from engaging with foreign law enforcement officers has lingered for decades. It has not been until the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq that have caused the U.S. to reflect on this policy and to make adequate changes.

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<sup>96</sup> Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map*, 202.

<sup>97</sup> Keller, *U.S. Military Forces and Police Assistance*.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (FAA), through Section 660, placed strict limitations on the ICA and USAID in the support of foreign law enforcement entities.<sup>100</sup> However, recent amendments in 2005 to the FAA of 1961 have expanded the authority for USAID. According to Section 564 (a) it now provides authority:

...to enhance the effectiveness and accountability of civilian police authority through training and technical assistance in human rights, the rule of law, strategic planning, and through assistance to foster civilian police roles that support democratic governance, including assistance for programs to prevent conflict, respond to disasters, address gender-based violence, and foster improved police relations with the communities they serve.<sup>101</sup>

This new direction taken by USAID is an effort to promote community policing, at an international level, which at its basic premise is to encourage having the police include the community in its effort to thwart crime. This type of training is only offered to states that are in transitional situations or under the control of democratic authorities. The goal is to establish the rule of law, along with improving security and enhancing human rights, and by doing so; this will open up the pathways for investment, trade, and economic growth.

### **C. INTERNATIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING (IMET) AND LESSONS FOR DHS**

The International Military Education and Training (IMET) program was first created under the International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976.<sup>102</sup> The goal of IMET is to enhance international peace and improve relationships with international partners while encouraging states to be self-reliant and to be able to utilize their resources to promote regional security. These foreign policy goals are accomplished by the interaction of military to military training.

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<sup>100</sup> U.S. Agency for International Development, "Assistance for Civilian Policing USAID Policy Guidance," last modified 2005, accessed December, 24, 2012, <http://transition.usaid.gov/policy/ads/200/200mbf.pdf>.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Derek Reveron, "Weak States and Security Assistance," *Prism* 1 (3): 2010, National Defense University, accessed December, 24, 2012, <http://www.ndu.edu/press/weak-states.html>.

As previously noted, the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) is the DoD component charged with overseeing international training programs, both within the U.S. and overseas, through funding by the Department of State's International Affairs Budget or the foreign country's national funds.<sup>103</sup>

IMET is a grant program that enables foreign military personnel, under the Foreign Assistance Act, the opportunity to attend one of the approximately 150 U.S. military schools.<sup>104</sup> The IMET trains over 8,000 foreign military officers from 125 different countries per year.<sup>105</sup> The College of International Security Affairs at the National Defense University in Washington, DC graduates military officers from over 135 countries from its national security studies program.<sup>106</sup> When Congress established IMET three significant goals were encouraged:

...to foster increased understanding between the United States and foreign countries in order to enhance international peace and security, to help participating countries to become more self-reliant by improving their ability to utilize defense resources obtained through foreign military financing, and to increase the awareness of internationally recognized human rights issues.<sup>107</sup>

All three of the goals encouraged by Congress in 1976 at the inception of IMET relate to current goals through documents such as the *National Security Strategy* (NSS) of 2010. For example, the NSS calls for more “substantive government-to-government relations,”<sup>108</sup> and the IMET's is a vehicle to promote this agenda. Moreover, the DHS can tweak these three objectives into its strategy. It can also ameliorate foreign relationships with security and law enforcement organizations. In addition, it also can guide and assist

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<sup>103</sup> Defense Security Cooperation Agency, “International Training Programs.”

<sup>104</sup> Richard F. Grimmett, *International Military Education and Training* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2000).

<sup>105</sup> Reveron, “Weak States and Security Assistance.”

<sup>106</sup> Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *The National Military Strategy of the United States: Redefining Americas Military Leadership* (Washington, DC: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2011), accessed December 26, 2012, [http://www.jcs.mil/content/files/2011-02/020811084800\\_2011\\_NMS\\_-\\_08\\_FEB\\_2011.pdf](http://www.jcs.mil/content/files/2011-02/020811084800_2011_NMS_-_08_FEB_2011.pdf).

<sup>107</sup> Committee on International Relations and Committee on Foreign Relations, *Legislation on Foreign Relations through 2002* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003), chapter 5.

<sup>108</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy*.

foreign states in their quest to become more self-reliant. Finally, and most importantly the department can promote the improvement of human rights issues at a global level.

In a United States Government Accountability (GAO) report released in October 2011, it is noted that since 2000, the IMET funding increased by 70 percent to \$108 million in fiscal year 2010, with most of the funding going towards professional military education.<sup>109</sup> Figure 7 points out the top recipients of IMET funding in fiscal year 2010.

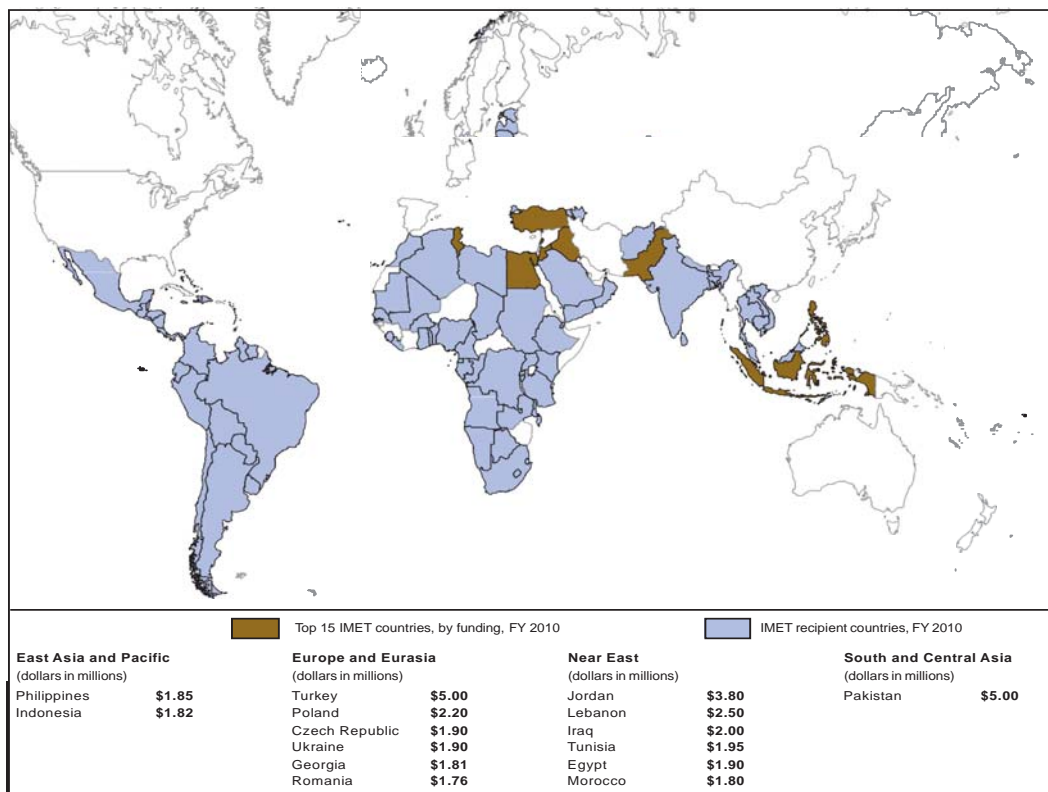


Figure 7. Top 15 IMET Recipients FY 2010<sup>110</sup>

The GAO report found two major causes of concern with the IMET program. The first is that State and DoD do not have an established performance plan that critically and strategically points out its objectives and then have the ability to measure the progress of

<sup>109</sup> U.S. Governmental Accountability Office, *Agencies Should Emphasize Human Rights*.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

its performance objectives.<sup>111</sup> Secondly, State and DoD have very little information on most of the IMET participants following graduation; furthermore the DoD has collected updated career information on only one percent of the IMET graduates.<sup>112</sup>

The GAO offers recommendations that may be suitable for DHS agencies in their efforts. Some programs suggestions are to improve DoD data systems on IMET evaluation efforts along with conducting studies of and showing comparisons between the career progress of IMET graduates versus non-IMET graduates. Pre-training and post-training surveys of participants' views, knowledge and attitudes could provide DHS with beneficial insight and data. Although it is challenging to measure the success of graduates, it is essential that DHS compile a database or some other means of following the careers of participants of its programs.

At the time of this writing the situation in Egypt is still very complex and volatile. The recent events in Egypt, which began in the summer of 2013, also have a connection with the IMET programs. Lieutenant General Abdel-Fattah al-Sisi is a 2006 graduate of the Army War College, located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and leader of the Egyptian military that recently overthrew President Mohamed Morsy. Al-Sisi deployed the troops during the turmoil and noted that supporters and opponents of the government have called for the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court to replace Morsy.<sup>113</sup> Commandant of the Army War College, Major General Tony Cucolo notes that recruiting al-Sisi and other military leaders to attend these institutions is an effort to build relationships and is also an investment in the future.<sup>114</sup>

As noted, at the time of this work, the situation is still volatile and fluid. Therefore, it is difficult to determine if the IMET training received by al-Sisi is beneficial to the relationship between the U.S. and Egypt only time will tell. The one benefit that is hard to denounce from this current crises is that at a minimum the highest

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Salena Zito, "Egypt's Army Chief trained at Army War College," *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*, Stars and Stripes, accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/egypt-s-army-chief-trained-at-army-war-college-1.229457>.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

ranking leader (al-Sisi) has had an opportunity to study in the U.S. at a premiere college and hopefully left with an understanding of how the U.S. operates and why it makes certain decisions.

Lastly, it is difficult to measure the success these programs since there are so many variables, and there are no immediate results—this process may take years to quantify. The ability to track graduates and their career progress are essential data that will show the logic and continued importance of this program and similar ones pursued by DHS. In times of austerity and sequestration this data will be needed to present to policy makers in order to continue to secure funding.

#### **D. CALLS FOR INTERNATIONAL TRAINING FROM THE COUNTER INSURGENCY MANUAL FM 3-24**

Leadership matters. It is just that simple. A unit or team can thrive or be decimated in a short period of time by the actions and commands of its cadre of leaders. The responsibility for the U.S. to provide sound leaders through its own ranks as well as influencing partner nations to improve leadership has never been more urgent. The experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan have certainly been areas where leadership and policy changes have been a failure or have made the difference.

As the Iraqi insurgency grew following the invasion of Iraq a different strategy needed to be employed. General David Petraeus and his staff wrote the *Counterinsurgency Manual FM 3-24* for the U.S. Army and the Marine Corps.<sup>115</sup> This manual can benefit homeland security officials as it notes the importance of utilizing interagency resources and promotes non-traditional military efforts in modern conflicts. Homeland security officials along with the DoD should place more emphasis on cultural awareness. Speaking about Iraq, General Petraeus commented, “We had terrific situational awareness, what we lacked was cultural awareness.”<sup>116</sup> As the tenth

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<sup>115</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Counterinsurgency* (Field Manual 3-24) (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, 2006), accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf>.

<sup>116</sup> Committee for Economic Development, *Education for Global Leadership: The Importance of International Studies and Foreign Language Education for U.S. Economic and National Security* (Washington, DC: Committee for Economic Development, 2006), 10, accessed March 3, 2013, <http://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/public/Finalreport.pdf>.

commander of U.S. Central Command, he understood first-hand that U.S. security is served, not undermined, by international understanding. In addition, our global ignorance makes the country seem arrogant and indifferent, which can breed anti-Americanism throughout the world, thereby decreasing our national security. Moreover, as the forward-thinking U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright warned years ago, “Our linguistic and cultural myopia is losing us friends, business, and respect in the world.”<sup>117</sup>

The December 2006 publication of FM 3-24 argues that host nations could carefully select a cadre of low and mid-level leaders, who can then receive advanced education in existing formal schools in the United States through the IMET or IMET like programs.<sup>118</sup> Upon the return from these programs the leaders can move into operational leadership or assume faculty positions within in their country. This train the trainer at the host state’s school is a force multiplier for COIN. The professional military education is critical, however; “students usually make and maintain strong personal connections with their foreign host during their stay abroad” having a first-hand experience of participating in a professional military education program is invaluable.<sup>119</sup>

Retired Major General Robert Scales, who has authored many books and was Commandant of the Army War College, asserts in a 2004 hearing of the Armed Services Committee that was published in the *Chicago Tribune* arguing that cultural walls must be torn down and that the lives of soldiers depends on it; “every young soldier should receive extensive cultural and language instruction.”<sup>120</sup> Scales goes further to argue that war is a thinking man’s game and not with just technology today’s soldiers must use intellect.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> “International Engagement Through Education: Remarks by Secretary Arne Duncan at the Council on Foreign Relations Meeting,” U.S. Department of Education, May 26, 2010, accessed October 3, 2013, <http://www.ed.gov/news/speeches/international-engagement-through-education-remarks-secretary-arne-duncan-council-forei>.

<sup>118</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Counterinsurgency*.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Stephen J. Hedges, “Military Voices Say Blame Isn’t all on Civilian: These Critics Fault the Lack of Cultural Education and Poor after-battle Planning for Iraq Woes,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 15, 2004.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.



Also, in a recently published article in the *Armed Forces Journal*, in his piece, “An Unnecessary Success: France’s Mali Intervention Could Have Been Avoided” Major Shawn Russell argues that the Mali army quickly fled as the militants advanced and that the Mali army was not prepared and failed.<sup>122</sup> In fact he continues, the State Department spent millions of dollars in engagement and security cooperation programs such as the Global Peace Operations Initiative and millions more on the African Contingency Training and Assistance plan both initiatives were attempts to make the Mali army a model for fighting terrorism.<sup>123</sup> The author claims that the west has put too much emphasis on the tactical training and not enough on the operational and strategic leadership level training that was needed.<sup>124</sup> This higher level of training would have been beneficial to mid-grade and senior level leaders. The article argues that while map reading and marksmanship are important skills, the leadership needs to be able to react to the big picture.<sup>125</sup> If afforded the opportunity, senior military leaders in African militaries would greatly benefit from attending one of the U.S. military schools. The same can be applied to the training that is currently taking place at the International Law Enforcement Academies.<sup>126</sup> A simple reflection on the success that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has had in securing peace in Europe for 60 years can offer hope that the same can be accomplished between nation-states in its effort to counter transnational criminals and global extremist organizations.

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<sup>122</sup> Shawn M. Russell, “An Unnecessary Success France’s Mali Intervention Could have been Avoided.” *Armed Forces Journal* (2013): 20–22, accessed October 21, 2013, <http://armedforcesjournal.com/article/2013/03/12864844>.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

## V. CASE STUDIES: INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL EXCHANGES IN HOMELAND SECURITY

I can think of no more valuable asset to our country than the friendship of future world leaders who have been educated here.

—Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell

### A. INTRODUCTION

The international role of homeland security continues to grow as DHS officials have relayed a vision of international engagement through strategic plans and statements. In 2007, then Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff stated in a speech at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, that DHS works:

internationally to identify potential threats well before they reach our shores, strengthen our perimeter defenses, and then partner with the international community to build resiliency into our shared system of commerce and travel so that we can have these systems secure without undermining the fundamental fluidity which is the basis of the 21<sup>st</sup> century global system.<sup>127</sup>

The basis for DHS international engagement comes from a host of mandates from several congressional initiatives and federal strategic directives. One that relates to training is that of the Homeland Security Act, which noted that DHS has the responsibility for promoting, “information and education exchange with nations friendly to the United States in order to promote sharing of best practices and technologies relating to homeland security.”<sup>128</sup> Moreover the *National Strategy for Homeland Security* observes, “security at home ultimately is related to security abroad: as partners protect and defend their homelands, the security of our own Homeland increases.”<sup>129</sup> The overall objective is that through collective sharing of information and training friendly

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<sup>127</sup> Michael Chertoff, “Remarks by Secretary Michael Chertoff to the Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies,” May 3, 2007, accessed July 19, 2013, <http://votesmart.org/public-statement/257784/remarks-by-secretary-michael-chertoff-to-the-johns-hopkins-university-paul-h-nitze-school-of-advanced-international-studies#.Uej3jmRATz0>.

<sup>128</sup> *Homeland Security Act of 2002* (P.L. 107–296), § 879(b)(1); codified at 6 U.S.C. § 459.

<sup>129</sup> Homeland Security Council, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, DC: Homeland Security Council, 2007), 5.

states that the U.S. will achieve greater homeland security. The problems in countering international criminals are so vast that no one country can consider forging ahead on its own. A global community effort will be required to meet these challenges.

This chapter will focus on CBP's: Office of International Affairs Training and Assistance Division, the International Law Enforcement Academies (ILEA) that are administered by the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) along with the USCG's International Training Division. The chapter will also point out the roles of the State Department. The training that is delivered by these agencies is mostly funded through various programs initiated by the Department of State, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and in some cases the host countries. The DHS international staff and its components are involved with many overseas programs. These programs consist of; security of foreign airports and air carriers, combat fraudulent documents and counterfeiting, credit card scams. and other computer based crimes along with port security and other maritime security efforts.

Many of the previously mentioned objectives are being conducted by the over 2,000 staff members stationed abroad in 142 cities and 79 countries.<sup>130</sup> These activities foster relationships that are instrumental in securing the homeland; in an age where international criminal organizations and international terrorist organizations know no borders. These organizations will continue to flourish in an ever-increasing globalized world. Therefore, one of the most important tools in the tool belt of homeland security is the effort being put forth in international affairs by DHS and its subcomponents. The international training and other professional exchanges are paramount for the long-term strategic efforts in fighting transnational criminal and terrorist organizations.

## **B. U.S. CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION: OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TRAINING AND ASSISTANCE DIVISION**

The largest of all the components of DHS is U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), and it has the largest international presence of all DHS components. Of the many missions that CBP has, screening passengers and cargo prior to entering the United

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<sup>130</sup> Office of Inspector General, *Management of Department of Homeland Security*, 2.

States, is one of the most critical. CBP addresses numerous overseas issues that pertain to the trade community, industry and travelers. Many CBP attaches are assigned to U.S. embassies worldwide. CBP also works with host countries on many international training and technical assistance programs that are tailored training programs for that particular state or region.

Since, the inception of the DHS, one critical element of the layered security risk-assessment approach has been to “push the borders out.” This is especially critical for CBP and the USCG, two of the largest components of DHS. This is done through a number of innovative international security programs. CBP has the Container Security Initiative (CSI), which has officers deployed to 58 foreign ports inspecting containers prior to the commodities being shipped in the global supply chain to the United States. Another innovative program is the Customs Trade and Partnership against Terrorism (C-TPAT), which encouraged the private sector both internationally and domestically to improve security. CBP officers conduct intensive reviews of the methodologies implemented by the private sector in security along with site validations of manufacturing and logistics facilities in the supply chain. Partners that choose to participate in this program will benefit by having a decrease in the possible delays of their commodity at the border.

One part of CBP’s efforts to improve international training and professional exchanges comes from the Merida Initiative, which has aided Mexico in equipment and training in its efforts to fight trans-national criminal activity, specifically the drug cartels. CBP has trained 47 Mexican Customs canine teams that have been deployed along the southwest border.<sup>131</sup> Additionally, CBP has worked with and trained Mexican Customs officials in the Mexico Aduanas Customs Training Enhanced Course (MACTEC) at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers (FLETC) and at CBP’s Field Operations Academy (FOA). This program brings Mexican Federales to the FLETC, which is located on a 1,600-acre facility in southeast Georgia, to train at this world-class state of

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<sup>131</sup> “CBP Trained Mexican Customs Canine Finds \$2.4 Million” Customs and Border Protection, news release, June 23, 2011, accessed October 22, 2013, [http://cbp.gov/archived/xp/cgov/newsroom/news\\_releases/archives/2011\\_news\\_archive/06222011\\_3.xml.html](http://cbp.gov/archived/xp/cgov/newsroom/news_releases/archives/2011_news_archive/06222011_3.xml.html).

the art training center alongside U.S. federal, state and local law enforcement officials.<sup>132</sup> These courses are delivered by CBP supervisors/course developer-instructors, who have an unwavering commitment to the global training mission being offered at the FOA. Furthermore, the CBP representatives are ambassadors that assist the DHS goal of international engagement through their professionalism and commitment. Upon graduation the Mexican Aduanas officers have also become ambassadors in assisting the U.S. in its border security issues. This is another example of a force multiplier as these graduates train others in their organization.

Another joint training program involves the Border Patrol's Search, Trauma, and Rescue (BORSTAR) teams. This bi-lateral effort has not only improved relations along the southwest border, it has saved lives. It was noted in a video titled "Inside CBP" released by CBP, that along the southern border migrants are often victimized.<sup>133</sup> In 2004, at the behest of the Mexican government, the BORSTAR teams began conducting bi-national training with its counterparts known as Grupo Beta.<sup>134</sup> These highly specialized units are capable of responding to emergency search and rescue situations anywhere anytime. The courses covered cross border search and rescue operations. Since 2004, six classes have been completed, and the Border Patrol has received positive feedback from its Grupo Beta partners. It should also be noted that the bi-lateral training has improved relationships at every level along the border.

The Advanced Training Center (ATC) for CBP, where the Global Borders College (GBC), is located in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, recently offered a new Leadership Agility Program (LAP). This program was developed at the GBC and offers a unique blend of academics and operational exercises. The course combines classroom learning with real-world opportunities to practice theories. This leadership program brings together academics and practitioners in an effort to collaborate with DHS partner agencies, U.S. Northern Command (NORTHCOM), and with international partners.

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<sup>132</sup> Author's knowledge of international training taking place at FLETC, 2013.

<sup>133</sup> "Search & Rescue Team Training with Mexico," You Tube, July 2, 2010, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, accessed March 19, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGnB7lAYzcU>.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

Simulated exercises are conducted both from a natural disaster and that of a terrorist incident. Students that are involved are afforded the opportunity to hone their; critical decision making skills, team building, strategic thinking, along with their risk management and vulnerability skill set. Leadership programs, such as the LAP bring together international partners, and are essential in countering the trans-national threats that threaten the United States.

### **C. INTERNATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACADEMIES**

Another component of the DHS international enterprise system is the ILEAs. The Department of State is the lead agency for the ILEAs. However, the DOJ, DHS, and Treasury along with foreign counterparts implement ILEA training programs. These academies were initially established in 1995 by President Clinton to strengthen the global community in order to combat international, drug trafficking, transnational criminal organizations, and terrorist networks. The U.S. initiated this effort and over the years has developed five ILEA Academies: Europe (Budapest), Africa (Gaborone), Central America and South America (San Salvador), Asia (Bangkok), and a Regional Training Center in North America located in Roswell, New Mexico.<sup>135</sup>

The mission of the ILEA's as stated in State Department's archives site program overview is, "to support emerging democracies, help protect U.S. interests through international cooperation and to promote social, political, and economic stability by combating crime."<sup>136</sup> Supporting fledgling democracies is essential to the growth and stability of regions along with regional and international security. Failed-states and faltering states, such as Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, and Sierra Leone, are ripe for not only international criminal activity, but are also launching pads for international terrorist activities. The regional locations of the ILEA's offer training and promote regional collaboration and stability.

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<sup>135</sup> U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, "International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) Program Overview," U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, last modified July 14, 2008, accessed May 20, 2013, [http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border\\_security/international\\_operations/international\\_training/law\\_enforce.xml](http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/international_operations/international_training/law_enforce.xml).

<sup>136</sup> U.S. Department of State, "ILEA, Program Overview," last modified 2009, accessed February 20, 2013, <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/inl/crime/ilea/c11243.htm>.

The role of the ILEA's has been significant in bringing regional law enforcement professionals together in the regions in which they are located. For example, the ILEA in Gaborone, Botswana, has a list of its objectives, which are:

To support criminal justice institution-building in Africa, with an emphasis on rules of law, democratization, and the building of law enforcement capacity.

To strengthen cooperation among countries in Africa to address problems of narcotics and crime.

To provide quality training and institution-building assistance to combat transnational crimes including terrorism, narcotics trafficking, financial crimes, cyber-crime, illegal firearms trafficking and migrant smuggling.

To strengthen cooperation among the law enforcement communities of Botswana, the United States, other African countries and elsewhere.<sup>137</sup>

The goals and objectives are similar to the specific regions for all the ILEAs, each contributing towards regional security and stability. The Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) also has a significant role in the success of the ILEA. The FBI heads up the ILEA in Budapest, Hungary. This program is similar to the FBI National Academy in which classes are taught on "cutting-edge leadership and investigative techniques to international police managers."<sup>138</sup> The overall objective, as noted by the FBI is to strengthen the legal and law enforcement systems of other states abroad, which will assist in enhancing U.S. security.

The cost of the ILEA is miniscule, when one compares the cost of ILEA to other international training programs or when compared to overall budgets in the national security apparatus. A United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) report from 2009 noted that the ILEA's received \$16 million from the State Department to conduct training to mid and senior level officials selected by U.S. embassies,<sup>139</sup> whereas

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<sup>137</sup> International Law Enforcement Academy, "ILEA-Gaborone," International Law Enforcement Academy, last modified January 7, 2013, accessed July 8, 2013, <http://www.ileagaborone.co.bw/Objectives.htm>.

<sup>138</sup> The FBI Academy, "International Training," The FBI Academy, accessed July 8, 2013, <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/training/ilea>.

<sup>139</sup> Christoff, "Multiple U.S. Agencies Provided Billions."

the IMET program as previously mentioned received \$108 million dollars in 2010. Again, in both cases, the size of these budgets falls far too short for the insurmountable task of security through diplomacy. From the same GAO report of 2009, it is noted that the funding for such programs has dramatically increased since the last report in 1992. The assistance on police training and equipment reached some \$3.5 billion to some 107 countries in fiscal year 2009.<sup>140</sup> Yet the question should be posed is this enough and are the funds being adequately dispersed to the areas of greatest need. Most of the funds, some 97 percent are being provided by DoD (55percent) and State (42 percent).<sup>141</sup> The DoD had a huge role in this effort as it has the authority to equip and train the Iraq Security Forces Fund and the Afghanistan Security Forces Fund.

According to the Interagency Working Group on U.S. Government Sponsored International Exchanges and Training the FLETC International Training and Technical Assistance Division develops and coordinates all FLETC international training and technical assistance.<sup>142</sup> The courses provided have an emphasis-promoting rule of law that supports U.S. foreign policy efforts. This training is an effort that places DHS at the forefront of fighting worldwide terrorism and other international criminal organizations.

The ILEAs do more than just promote relationships through law enforcement and teach operational training for leaders. A broad range of foreign policy objectives are also a part of the ILEAs mission to bolster democratic governance through the rule of law, promote social, political and economic stability by combating narcotics trafficking and crime.<sup>143</sup> These criminal justice leaders not only form ties with U.S. officials but form regional ties with their local counterparts, which in turn encourage regional stability. These strong partnerships that evolve from the regional countries enable these countries to address their regional criminal concerns. The ILEAs assist in cultivating relationships between partners and by encouraging and understanding other cultures, languages and

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>142</sup> Interagency Working Group on U.S. Government Sponsored International Exchanges and Training, "FY 2010 Inventory Programs," accessed July 8, 2013, [http://www.politicaljunkiehandbook.com/uploads/f\\_agencySpending2010.pdf](http://www.politicaljunkiehandbook.com/uploads/f_agencySpending2010.pdf).

<sup>143</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Statement of Purpose."



operability capabilities. The leadership development programs that evolve from these academies are also invaluable programs. Most states and their law enforcement organizations will differ. However, the basic theories of management and leadership are as borderless as the international criminals these organizations are fighting against. In short, the DHS community should not overlook the importance of the personal relationships that are forged through these programs.

The ILEA's have established an extensive network of alumni, who have become a fraternal brotherhood of law enforcement professionals. These networks exchange information with their regional partners as well as have a face with a name for contacts in the U.S. law enforcement community. The one-on-one contacts made are invaluable in fighting transnational organizations. Furthermore, many of these graduates advance into various leadership and managerial positions within their agencies; the contacts that were fostered at the ILEA's are invaluable tools for the U.S. in global security.

#### **D. UNITED STATES COAST GUARD INTERNATIONAL TRAINING DIVISION**

The Coast Guard engages internationally to benefit the Nation and further the Coast Guards Missions

—Commandants Instruction 5710.2A

The USCG is a unique service, since it is a multi-missioned organization safeguarding the nation's homeland but can under the Department of Navy following a declaration of ordered by the president. The common link that the USCG has with many nation-states navies throughout the world is that the USCG is a small maritime service. Most nation-states have small navies that concentrate on coastal patrols and other regional maritime security efforts. Therefore, as the smallest branch of the country's five branches of the Armed Forces, and the only branch of service that has both a law enforcement role and military role, the USCG is ideally suited and has more in common with other navies throughout the world.

The USCG has a significant role in advancing foreign policy and securing the maritime commons. The *21<sup>st</sup> Century Seapower*, which is a study that was presented by

the Chief of Naval Operations and the Commandants of the United States Marine Corps and Coast Guard, points out that “preventing wars is as important as winning wars.”<sup>144</sup> International training and other professional exchanges offered by the Coast Guard are critical ingredients of U.S. diplomatic soft power that have influence with national security implications. The COIN manual developed by retired General Petraeus, also notes that the Coast Guard is of value in contributing to counterinsurgency operations the “coastal patrol, fisheries oversight, and port security missions correlate with the responsibilities of navies in developing countries.”<sup>145</sup>

The Coast Guard “pushes the borders out,” by conducting foreign port assessments. It also use the International Port Security Program to assess the effectiveness of port security and other antiterrorism security measures. The visiting teams from the Coast Guard inspect the security measures being used at ports that will ship goods to United States. The Coast Guard also works closely with the Global Maritime Partnerships initiative, which as noted in the *Cooperative Strategy for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Seapower*, seeks to have a cooperative approach to maritime security, promote the rule of law, counter piracy and terrorism initiatives, weapons proliferation, drug trafficking, and other illicit issues.<sup>146</sup> By partnering with the international community the U.S. can improve regional and cultural expertise and build relationships through the expansion of training, education, and other professional exchange efforts.

The Coast Guard has an Office of International Affairs and Foreign Policy. The role of this office is to assist the Coast Guard leadership on strategies pertaining to foreign policy matters and international affairs regarding Coast Guard programs. Within this office is the International Training Division that has an International Mobile Training Branch (MTB) that provides worldwide training. In 2011, MTB members traveled to 60 countries providing instruction to almost 2000 students in areas of maritime law enforcement, marine safety and environmental protection, small boat operation and

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<sup>144</sup> U.S. Department of Navy, *A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Navy, 2007), accessed March 18, 2013, <http://www.navy.mil/maritime/Maritimestrategy.pdf>.

<sup>145</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Counterinsurgency*.

<sup>146</sup> U.S. Department of Navy, *A Cooperative Strategy*.

maintenance, search and rescue, port security and infrastructure development for countries with waterway law enforcement programs.<sup>147</sup> This exportable training is cost efficient; it is provided by specialized team's that are subject matter experts or by Coast Guard operating forces that deliver tailored training on requested regional topics.<sup>148</sup> Under the State Department's, Foreign Assistance Act the Coast Guard is authorized to train foreign partners in maritime skill sets under the IMET.<sup>149</sup> These military-to-military exchanges enhance bilateral and multilateral relationships for the U.S. throughout the world.

Training requests are submitted through the U.S. Embassy of the host nation. The request is then forwarded to the Security Cooperation Office (SCO), U.S. military advisor, USCG liaison officer, and Narcotics Affairs Section will review the material and forward it to International Affairs (CG-DCO-I) at USCG Headquarters for further processing as noted in Figure 8.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> United States Coast Guard, "International Mobile Training Branch," United States Coast Guard, accessed March 18, 2013, <http://www.uscg.mil/tcyorktown/international/itd/default.asp>.

<sup>148</sup> Arnold and Lunday, "Coast Guard International Training," 92–95.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> U.S. Coast Guard, *U.S. Coast Guard International Training Handbook*, 13th ed., (Washington, DC: U.S. Coast Guard, 2008), Section 11, 11, accessed March 18, 2013, <http://www.uscg.mil/international/docs/ITH13.pdf>.

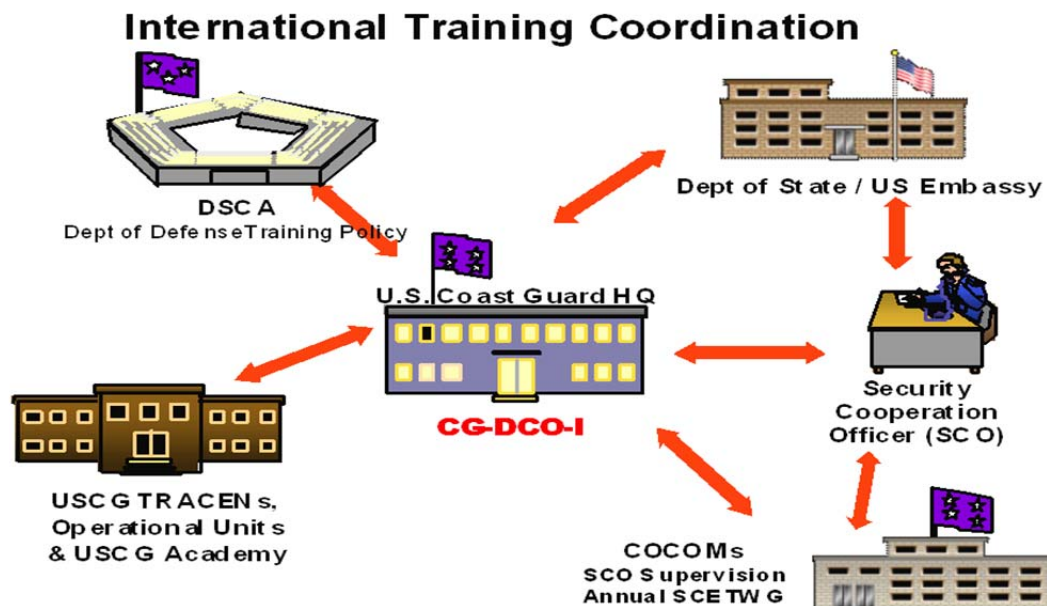


Figure 8. International Training Coordination, USCG.<sup>151</sup>

### 1. Professional Exchanges through the International Port Security (IPS) Program

The Coast Guard has a layered security approach in its efforts to impact global maritime supply chain security. “The Coast Guard employs a holistic layered approach to maritime security that is designed to detect, deter, and prevent the methods of terror and terrorists as early as possible in the event chain,”<sup>152</sup> said Admiral Robert J. Papp, the commandant of the Coast Guard. He also stated, “An example of a ‘far-from-the-homeland’ element of this layered security system is the International Port Security (IPS) Program, which verifies that effective anti-terrorism measures have been instituted in foreign ports to help reduce the risk to U.S. ports.”<sup>153</sup> This program began in 2005 with a robust goal of visiting all trading partners within three years and to share best practices

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Edward H. Lundquist, “International Port Security Program the Coast Guard’s Watchful Eye Monitors Security of Ports Overseas,” Defense Media Network, March 17, 2011, accessed March 18, 2013 <http://www.defensemedianetwork.com/stories/international-port-security-program/>.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

and exchange information.<sup>154</sup> The global supply chain is a national security matter for the economic vitality of the United States. This program was developed to engage our international partners and assist in improving international port security.

At the same time that IPS started, the International Maritime Organization (IMO) introduced a set of standards for port security known as the International Ship and Port Facility Security Code, or the ISPS Code. The ISPS is to “identify and evaluate important assets and infrastructures that are critical to the port facility as well as those areas or structures that, if damaged, could cause significant loss of life or damage to the port facility’s economy or environment.”<sup>155</sup> Following the implementation of the ISPS Code the Coast Guard worked with over a 150 coastal nations in developing more robust security measures in efforts to improve security in the transportation of commodities. This has become the blueprint for international maritime security that includes not only foreign partners but also security efforts put forth by private industry.

The Maritime Transportation Security Act (MTSA) of 2002 mandates the USCG to assess anti-terrorism measures in foreign ports. From this congressional mandate, the IPS Program was born and became responsible for assessing and in some cases strengthening port security in the ports of the United States’ foreign trading partners. “Our area of responsibility encompasses all of the world’s maritime trading nations—roughly 150 countries. We are the foreign port component of the United States’ global supply chain security efforts,” said Lieutenant Commander Bryan Ulmer, who works from the IPS Program’s Atlantic Area office.<sup>156</sup> This effort concentrates on our trading partners abroad, as the global supply chain is the lifeline to not only the U.S. economy, but to the global economy. An incident at any port around the world could have an immediate ripple effect on the global economy.

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<sup>154</sup> Commandant United States Coast Guard, “International Port Security (IPS) Program,” *Navigation and Vessel Inspection Circular* no. 02–05, February 15, 2005, accessed March 18, 2013, <http://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=22010>.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

Seaports are a vital part of the country's critical infrastructure and, therefore, are a vulnerable target for terrorism. Either by an act of terrorism or a natural disaster, any slow down at our ports would not just impact the economy of the United States, but it would have a far greater impact on the global economy. The closure of a port has global repercussions as the gridlock would cause vessels to not be able to discharge, which in turn would cause ships to stop being loaded that are bound for the United States. Then the foreign terminals would begin to slow down because of the backlog, and, finally, the manufacturing industries would be forced to slowdown production. Prices would soon surge to record breaking levels on most commodities. The end result would be an economic spiral downward for the global economy.

The first example was of a port slowdown from the strike that took place by International Longshoreman and the Warehouse Union (ILWU) in Ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles in 2002 and 2012. Another, example of a port closure affecting the economy is the impact of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita at the Port of New Orleans. A brief shut down of this major hub caused increases in oil, gas, coffee, and many other products that are imported through the Gulf region. Gary P. LaGrange, president and chief executive officer of the Port of New Orleans, noted before a Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation in 2005 shortly after Hurricane Katrina "The business and economic health of this nation is heavily dependent on maritime trade."<sup>157</sup> He also testified "When ports are impacted there is a quick and sizable ripple effect throughout the economy."<sup>158</sup> Therefore, the USCG and its IPS programs are at the forefront of securing the global maritime domain. The interaction and exchanges that are in place due to IPS are beneficial to the global economy.

Finally, the efforts that evolved out of the IPS are the reciprocal visits that involve dignitaries and other foreign leaders from around the world. Members of the Coast Guard, who are personally committed to making their visits worthwhile, accompany these leaders. One example is the members from five international delegations that have

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<sup>157</sup> "Criticality Underscored," *AAPA Seaports Magazine* (fall 2007), American Association of Ports Authorities, accessed March 18, 2013, <http://www.aapa-ports.org/Publications/SeaportsDetail.cfm?itemnumber=13248>.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

visited the Port of Savannah, the fourth largest container port in the county and the second busiest for exports. The delegates receive extensive tours of the many different types of break bulk and containerization ports located in Savannah. The dignitaries, such as these from Liberia, are awarded a certificate of appreciation that reads as follows:

To all who shall see these presents, greeting.

Upon the occasion of your visit to the port of Savannah, Georgia, it is my pleasure to express the grateful appreciation of the United States Coast Guard for your friendship and goodwill. Your commitment to port safety and security benefits not only Liberia, but also all international trading partners. In the dynamic and challenging operations environment, it is crucial for us to maintain a collaborative and cooperative spirit to safeguard our maritime domain.<sup>159</sup>

This action in promoting high-level international cooperation has forged many professional relationships where business cards have been exchanged followed by emails and reciprocal visits to our foreign partners. These relationships foster friendships and when a friend is needed it easier to call upon a friendship that has been nurtured as opposed to trying to make a friend in a time of crises. One of the members of the delegation stated, “words are better than swords.”<sup>160</sup> This is soft power working in the homeland and national security arena. Such relationships are critical components of soft power diplomacy. The members from this delegation leave with pragmatic ideas and policies of best practices seen that could quite possibly be implemented in their countries.

These efforts foster and sustain relationships through foreign engagement and provide greater security in the maritime domain. The *Cooperative Strategy for the 21st Century Seapower* argues that although our forces can easily surge when it is time to respond to a crises, “trust and cooperation cannot be surged.”<sup>161</sup> This trust and cooperation is fostered over time and by a mutual understanding of our partner’s needs as well as our own. The relationships built between the Marine Safety Unit in Savannah and

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<sup>159</sup> Certificate of appreciation presented by the Executive Officer, Marine Safety Unit Savannah, GA to the Liberian delegation on March 5, 2013; signed by Commander J.B. Loring United States Coast Guard. Savannah, GA

<sup>160</sup> Liberian Delegation member, personal communication with author, April, 2013.

<sup>161</sup> U.S. Department of Navy, *A Cooperative Strategy*.

the five visiting delegations are the foundations of future security opportunities for all parties.

## **2. International Maritime Officers Course**

Finally, the International Maritime Officers Course was developed with a specific curriculum for foreign students, and it is offered by the International Resident Training Branch in Yorktown, Virginia. This course provides attendees with a professional military education above simply the tactical and operational levels. Similar to IMET training from the DoD this program is afforded to seasoned professionals involved in maritime law enforcement, who have the promotion potential to move into senior government positions in their country. The goal and objective of reaching mid-level officers and professionals is that by the time they are promoted the U.S. will have a friend in place and the foreign partner will have influence over a part of or over the entire organization. The overall objective is to build lasting relationships and partnerships with our partner nations. This professional military training is a 15-week course consisting of a series of seminars, classes, and field studies that present USCG best practices and policies.<sup>162</sup> While not only being provided with the course work, attendees are introduced to American culture in an environment where friendships are fostered.

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<sup>162</sup> U.S. Coast Guard, “International Maritime Officers Course.”



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## **VI. REVOLUTION IN SOFT POWER AFFAIRS (RSPA)**

I think it's fair to say that diplomacy today requires much more of that if you're the United States of America than it did 10, 20, 30, 40 years ago.

—Hillary Clinton

### **A. INTRODUCTION**

The explosive growth of globalization will continue for the foreseeable future and global law enforcement and other security efforts will need to continue to address the threats from terrorism and that of trans national criminal organization. This can best be addressed by improving training and exchanges with our international partners. Channeling funds from traditional aspects of DoD and DHS security efforts into these programs are not new ideas; however, they have been woefully underused. Past efforts have proven to be successful in scholarly exchanges through programs, such as the Fulbright Scholars that is administered by the Institute of International Education and other IMET programs.

The DHS is an integral part of the national security apparatus. Therefore, it should take the lead in the international efforts to promote international law enforcement training. This effort is not a tactical or operational solution. This is a strategic herculean effort to a long-term issue. By implementing a Revolution in Soft Power Affairs (RSPA) the DHS can improve global law enforcement and security measures. The RSPA is an aggressive approach that avoids traditional border security training in the effort to introduce a strategic solution to a globalized society.

### **B. BLUE OCEANS AND CHANGE AGENTS**

In the *Blue Ocean Strategy*, W. Chan Kim and Renee Mauborgne provide useful ideas not just for the creation of new ideas, but also for the creation of whole new industries.<sup>163</sup> This starts by looking at the “Big Picture” in which the authors devote an

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<sup>163</sup> W. Chan Kim and Renée Mauborgne, *Blue Ocean Strategy: How to Create Uncontested Market Space and Make Competition Irrelevant* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press, 2005), 4.

entire chapter to looking at the “Big Picture.”<sup>164</sup> The authors remind the reader that many of the basic industries of today were virtually unknown just five, ten or even thirty years ago and that history should teach us that “we have hugely underestimated capacity to create new industries and re-create existing ones.”<sup>165</sup> The RSPA is a “Blue Ocean” by taking what has already worked in international training and professional exchanges through scholars and military to military exchanges; that can be mirrored and enhanced for global law enforcement and border security training with our global partners.

Malcolm Gladwell in his work, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*, also offers useful ideas for innovators of homeland security or law enforcement to consider. He argues that a small number of people who start to behave differently can cause a ripple effect, which soon reaches a critical mass or a “tipping point.”<sup>166</sup> Through our influence and persuasion and desire to spend public funds wisely the U.S., by implementing a RSPA, can identify specific partners from allied nations who can be that “tip” in that particular region. This “tip” can become the force multiplier in promoting global law enforcement in a particular geographic region.

Gladwell points out three agents of change and that these change agents can be the catalyst for rapidly spreading new ideas. The three are: connectors, mavens, and salesman. The connector is essentially a computer network or hub. They know people from many backgrounds and who are from different circles. The mavens accumulate information and have a knack for discourse and social skills. They are the ones that begin the epidemic. The salesmen are the charismatic drivers who have the persuasive skills to promote the idea.<sup>167</sup> All three are elements that are needed to begin a social epidemic. The ability to identify change agents domestically and internationally is critically needed to promote and gain trust of international law enforcement partners. The U.S. can be the connector, maven, and salesman in the promotion of the RSPA.

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>166</sup> Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2000).

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 70.

## **1. Curriculum Reviews and Breaking Down Cultural Barriers**

Many programs currently exist in the area of international training and professional exchanges. All branches of the military have programs and several different agencies in the DOJ and DHS have international training programs that should be reviewed in order to have the maximum impact. Greater communication among these agencies would also be beneficial to these programs. Possibly, a joint operations center that will assist in identifying the areas of most need and avoiding redundant international training and professional exchanges should have one grand strategy that would play a significant role in the RSPA. Reviewing the programs in place will assist developers in building new programs for their particular area of security—programs that mirror the effectiveness of the present programs.

As noted in the last chapter, since 1995, the USCG offers a program called the International Maritime Officers School within its International Resident Training Branch at Training Center Yorktown, Virginia. The course is specifically designed to provide a professional military education (PME) to foreign mid-grade officers and civilians. This course provides an in depth review of U.S. Coast Guard organization along with the planning and management of its mission as well as providing an opportunity to experience American culture, which will hopefully establish lifelong ambassadors and friends. In addition, many of the students develop friendships, with fellow participants and USCG members, which continue to flourish throughout their careers.

Although many courses cover tactical and operational areas of the USCG such as: search and rescue, port security, marine safety prevention and response, the course covering American culture is probably the most beneficial for the blue ocean strategy of the RSPA. This course introduces our global partners to the story behind the U.S. and its people. Moreover, educating and developing our international partners is a part of citizen diplomacy, which offers mutual understanding and respect for each other.

The role of homeland and national security has always been interconnected. As this thesis has reviewed the successful lessons from the Cold War and of the invaluable student international exchange programs such as the Fulbright Scholars it is clear that soft

power efforts trumped hard power during this 40 year struggle and that these lessons in soft power from the Cold War should be at the forefront of American engagement in the twenty-first century.

International education has proven to be a successful winner in the tools of statecraft when implemented by the U.S. This is the foundation of future efforts and national security officials should not discount its success. Modeling current international educational exchange programs that are being implemented by DoD could improve the efforts by DHS in the international law enforcement and border security realms while improving national security.

Other lessons can and should be considered from academia. The partnerships that have evolved from DHS and the academic community are invaluable. Many universities have partnered up with DHS to tackle various issues concerning the many pieces of homeland security. With the rapid growth of globalization in the past two decades and its continual march into the twenty-first century, partnering with international universities will enhance global security. The University of Wisconsin International Education Program states:

To engage fully with the globalized world of the 21st century, future graduates (of UW-L) must possess multicultural and global perspectives gained through intellectual and social exchange with people of diverse backgrounds. One of the most effective ways to develop such perspectives is to experience living, learning and working in another country or culture.<sup>168</sup>

These lessons on student exchanges that universities have been promoting and encouraging for years could bode well for both DoD and DHS officials.

The same can be said for promoting international training either, military or homeland security. The dollars put forth in these programs are long-term investments that almost guarantee a more secure America. This training builds bridges between the U.S. and partner nations and garners a greater understanding of needs and wants. These are

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<sup>168</sup> Katy Doran, "The Importance of International Education," eHow, accessed July 19, 2013, [http://www.ehow.com/about\\_5435770\\_importance-international-education.html](http://www.ehow.com/about_5435770_importance-international-education.html).

critical for national security in an increasingly globalized world; language and cultural awareness are essential tools for political diplomacy.

Students who have studied abroad bring a global perspective to organizations, and this is same for military and law enforcement professionals as a stronger understanding of friendship and goodwill evolve. An international education creates cross-cultural understanding for military-to-military exchanges as well as law enforcement-to-law enforcement exchanges. The different languages, customs, traditions, political, and religious beliefs are bridged through international educational exchanges. International training and other professional exchanges offer our global partner's insight into our world and hopefully enlighten participants with a positive view. These participants become global ambassadors that become soft power championed multipliers.

As with the *Counterinsurgency Manual* FM 3-24 that argues counterinsurgencies demand enormous patience so do the efforts in soft power and international training programs.<sup>169</sup> Also as with the COIN campaigns, they are long and difficult while progress can be hard to measure.<sup>170</sup> The same train of thought and logic can be argued for international training and other soft power efforts.

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<sup>169</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Counterinsurgency*.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, x.

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## **VII. RECOMMENDED PROGRAM/CURRICULUM FOR THE GLOBAL BORDERS COLLEGE**

Interest does not tie nations together; it sometimes separates them. But sympathy and understanding does unite them.

—Woodrow Wilson

This next chapter will propose a soft power infused curriculum for a program to be offered at the Global Borders College (GBC). The Department of Homeland Security should call for the establishment of a joint professional law enforcement education-training program with foreign partners, to take place at the GBC in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. This facility, located only one hour from Washington, DC, has become a world-class training facility for DHS border security officials. International participants, who have been recommended by the Department of State and vetted for this program, would have an opportunity to live on campus throughout the training session. The DOS's Office of Policy Plans and Analysis and funds the IMET programs should be inspired to fund a strategic international law enforcement effort such as this.

### **A. INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND HIERARCHICAL LEARNING**

The curriculum is at the heart of the training, which will engage the international law enforcement professionals, who are selected to attend this program. The goal of this curriculum should be to avoid the most common form of instruction, which is by lectures. Instructing through lecture will not develop the student's higher-order of cognitive abilities that are the desired outcome of good instructors.

For this type of international law enforcement training, adult learning synthesis is most likely the area that needs to receive the most consideration when developing specific regional curriculums. Synthesis is a part of the "higher order of thinking" of Blooms taxonomy. Synthesizing brings forth creativity from participants and should be the central part of the program. This is the highest form of thinking and drives the ability and opportunity to generate new ideas. The goal is for students to operate at the highest levels of cognitive thinking. In the education of international law enforcement



professionals using the highest forms of thinking is essential in attempting to cultivate new ideas. These programs should follow a seminar format, as this will encourage new and creative thinking.

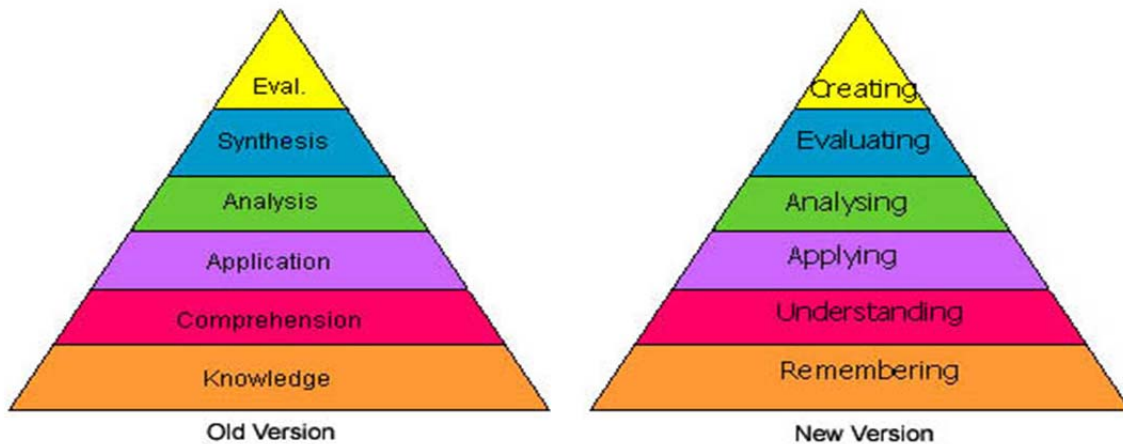


Figure 9. An Old and New Version of Bloom's Taxonomy<sup>171</sup>

This program is not a one-stop shop or a cookie cutter program. Each cohort should receive specific reviews in the development of its tailored curriculum. In addition, it should be reiterated that the curriculum should not be American centric, as this needs to be a regionally centric seminar facilitated by GBC officials.

## **B. SUGGESTED PHASES FOR THE GLOBAL BORDERS COLLEGES INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM**

Areas of study should include some basic courses covering tactical and operational roles of agencies such as U.S. Customs and Border Protection. However, building upon the RSPA a greater emphasis should be placed on the courses pertaining to joint efforts in responding to manmade and natural disasters along with courses on the Rule of Law, Internal Security, Good Governance and Transparency, Universal Values, and Respect for Human Rights. Finally, the most important course, that is a part of the

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<sup>171</sup> Mary Forehand, "Bloom's Taxonomy," University of Georgia, last modified October 30, 2012, accessed October 21, 2013, [http://epltt.coe.uga.edu/index.php?title=Bloom%27s\\_Taxonomy](http://epltt.coe.uga.edu/index.php?title=Bloom%27s_Taxonomy).

“Blue Ocean” strategy of RSPA, should be that of the academic field studies that could take place in the Washington, DC, and surrounding area.

As noted, the courses should be tailored to be regional centric for particular geographic regions. This would provide a networking opportunity for regional law enforcement officials to discuss their regional issues along with USG officials. This will not only enhance the status of the U.S. from these states, but also affords these regional states the opportunity to have a joint international law enforcement training experience. The overall plan for this program is not to have a shotgun approach by training as many international law enforcement personnel as possible at the tactical and operational levels and then return them to their countries with very little accomplished for the “big picture.” The goal should be to train a few members; yet foster creative ideas to solve issues for the “big picture.” This will be the force multiplier and catalyst for future success stories from our partners.

Implementing such a program does not call for reinventing the wheel. The U.S. Naval War College has had an international program since 1955, pioneered by former Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Arleigh Burke. He desired “to promote leadership and development and foster trust, confidence, friendship and cooperation among partner and allied navies.”<sup>172</sup> The naval officers who come to study at the facility in Newport, Rhode Island take courses in strategy, decision-making and operations alongside their U.S. counterparts. However, most importantly, they have an opportunity to take special trips to industry, governmental, social and military facilities in order to garner a greater understanding of how the U.S. functions. As noted by retired Naval War College (NWC) Professor Vince Mocini, “the aim of the program is not to create foreign colleagues who agree with the United States, but rather to provide opportunities to enable them to understand how and why the United States acts as it does.”<sup>173</sup> He further states:

The overarching goal is to forge professional ties that will allow alumni to cooperate to resolve crises peacefully, and if such measures are not

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<sup>172</sup> Vincent P. Mocini and Geoffrey Ponting, “How the U.S. Naval War College Strengthens Worldwide Maritime Security Cooperation,” *Naval War College Review* 64, no. 4 (2011): S48(8).

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

successful to resolve future crises peacefully, and if measures are not successful, to form coalitions to fight and win together.<sup>174</sup>

The strategic goal is to create a network of alumni that is available to peacefully assist in resolving future problems and in the case of law enforcement the sharing of information to enhance investigations and intelligence. As previously mentioned, it is easier to have a friend in place during times of crises than to try to find a friend or develop a friendship when it is too late.

The Global Borders College (GBC) can offer a similar program. The programs at the NWC range from six months to a full year. It may not be operationally feasible for international border security and law enforcement leaders to be away from their duties for that amount of time. However, a shorter version should be developed by the GBC. The program developed for these cohorts can be broken down into three, two-week phases that would include a week of field study with class sizes ranging from 12–18 in order to yield more positive results. A full and complete comprehensive development of a curriculum is beyond the scope of what this thesis is offering. Nevertheless, listed below is a proposed outline that could be developed further.

- I. International Global Strategy and Security
  - Open Agenda/Develop Personal Trust
  - International Global Objectives/Roundtable Discussions
  - Ethics and Corruption in Law Enforcement
  - Rule of Law and Human Rights
  - Counterterrorism and Trans-National Law Enforcement Strategies
  - History of Border Security – Successes and Failures
- II. Operational and Decision Making
  - Influence of others Hard and Soft Power
  - Operational Planning: Human Trafficking and Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) update on Regional and Global Trends
  - Modern Border Security: Customs, Practices, Techniques along with Tools and Technology

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

- Emergency Preparedness, Response and Management for both natural and manmade disasters
- III. Regional and International Security Operations and Training
- Reciprocal Training Opportunities
  - Bilateral or Multiregional Break out Groups
  - Guest speakers from Non-Governmental Organizations (Doctors without Borders, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation)
  - Field Study (United States Institute of Peace)

The training will conclude with a final week of field studies visiting monuments, historical sites, seaport facilities, and some private sector corporations. In an International Programs Brief for new instructors at the NWC, Dean Tom Mangold notes, the Field Studies week is an effort “to show our international partners how the U.S. works as a country and to promote an understanding of U.S. institutions and society.”<sup>175</sup> The below bullets are just a few of the places that international students try to visit or discuss during their stay at the NWC. The field studies portion of the program for the GBC would certainly be shorter as the time in the program is considerably shorter however, local trips in Washington, DC and the surrounding area would be worthwhile. The information below was provided by the NWC. This brief list shows areas that are a part of the field studies week for both naval and civilian international officials, who attend the NWC.

- **FREE ENTERPRISE & FREE MARKET SYSTEM**  
(Boeing, Bath Iron Works, Microsoft, Starbucks, Winchester Arms)
- **DIVERSITY OF SOCIETY & AMERICAN LIFE**  
(Native American Culture, Immigration, Homeless & Disadvantaged)
- **DEMOCRATIC IDEALS OF ELECTED GOVERNMENT**  
(Nat’l, State & City Gov’t, Fed Reserve, NRA, Council on Foreign Relations)
- **CIVIL-MILITARY & MEDIA RELATIONS**  
(Pentagon, NYPD & FDNY, CNN, Chicago Tribune, U.S. C. G.)
- **HUMAN RIGHTS & JUDICIAL SYSTEM**  
(U. N., Courts & Legal System, M. L. King Center, Prison System)<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> “International Programs Brief,” sent to the author by Tom Mangold, April 12, 2013.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

The GBC should have one or two sessions per year. Bearing in mind this is a long term project, the sessions should concentrate on the most volatile regions. For example, the first year of the program might focus on bringing in law enforcement and border security officials from West Africa (Gabon, Liberia, Cameroon, Congo, Ghana, Mali, Niger, and Nigeria). The next year, officials from the Middle East or Eastern Europe might be invited to the GBC. DOS and DHS international affairs personal should determine the regions of most need and have members of academia (contract employees) and government prepare regionally centric curriculums for the cohort.

Future leaders who come to such training should be assigned a sponsor, a member of the GBC team to assure that the international participants have an American contact throughout the program. CBP and GBC staff could have the participants create a presentation on their nation's history and culture. This would allow each participant to have an opportunity to introduce the rich culture and history of his or her state. CBP sponsors can actually be summoned through CBP's Office of Field Operations or from the Office of Border Patrol. There are over 40,000 agents and officers belonging to the agency from a wide array of diverse backgrounds can be leveraged to assist in this program. The CBP is the nation's largest federal law enforcement agency, with many officers and agents who speak foreign languages. It would be feasible to solicit them to the GBC on a temporary duty assignment to assist in the international training program. The CBP sponsors will gain as much from this program as the participants and lifelong friendships may evolve that could also lead to reciprocal training for the CBP officers and agents. The common link that is shared between the sponsor and participant will certainly be helpful in any future law enforcement operations. The sponsors and other members of the GBC community will benefit as well from having international partners training and studying on campus.

The culmination of the training will include with a ceremony at the GBC featuring guest speakers from both the USG and from the international cohort. A Graduate Certificate in International Border Security Studies would be awarded to the participants.

### **C. DESIRED EXPECTATIONS AND OUTCOME**

Throughout the program the international students need to be engaged in the learning process and feedback should always be welcomed and reviewed in an effort to enhance the overall experience. The following is a sample list of questions that may be presented to the international law enforcement and border security professionals that attend the GBC. These questions should not be submitted in a traditional questionnaire that a student would fill out following the completion of training. These questions should be presented in an exit interview that would be completed with the CBP sponsor.

#### **Interviewer Questioner for International Students**

1. What were the most rewarding aspects of this training?
2. What did you think of the course curriculum and instruction?
3. What did you expect from this program? Were those expectations met?
4. What happened during this program that you did not expect?
5. What was your favorite part about the field study program?
6. How was the relationship between you and your CBP sponsor?
7. How much of what you have learned will be useful when you return home?
8. Do you have any recommendations to improve this program?
9. Have you made friends during this program? If so, who and will you continue this friendship?
10. Any other observations or comments?

The above information that would be collected following the training would be used to track the effectiveness of this program. Although, this paper has argued that tracking soft power initiatives is challenging, it should be noted that some areas of soft power could be measured, and this is one of those areas.

The desired impact from this international training effort offered by CBP at the GBC is improved relationships with our global partners in countering international criminal organizations along with minimizing the threat from international terrorist

groups. The program should hope to have an international group of alumni that become senior leaders and decision makers in their organizations. These leaders will have developed personal relationships with their U.S. counterparts. In addition, with the creative ideas fostered at the GBC, these leaders will be prepared to make strategic decisions for the benefit of all. Accurate record keeping should follow up with the alumni and document their career advancements. Databases should be kept on the alumni and the sponsors who worked with them in the program. If an international incident takes place, it would be prudent to be able to call upon the CBP sponsor to reach out and garner information from that international graduate.

In almost every respect international education has proven to be successful from the Fulbright Program and the PME that is offered to our international partners at the IMET's. Educating our international partners at a U.S. facility, such as the GBC, will be an effective tool of statecraft and introduce the participants to the cultural diplomacy of the United States. This type of training should be the foundation for our future national security efforts. The investments that are put forth in these programs are long-term solutions that are forward thinking and will continue to enhance U.S. security for decades. In short, this training builds bridges between the U.S. and partner nations that garner greater understanding of the "wants and needs" of our partners. Cultural awareness of each other will continue to be a paramount tool in improving national security in a twenty-first century globalized world.

## VIII. CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

[Soft power] is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced.

—Joseph S. Nye

### A. **REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS (RMA) VS. REVOLUTION IN SOFT POWER AFFAIRS (RSPA)**

The 1990s was a decade of U.S. military acceleration in the advancement of modern weaponry, communications, and other technological areas. These achievements have propelled the U.S. to become a hegemonic power that cannot be matched on the modern battlefield. The decade of the 90s was considered to be a Revolution Military Affairs (RMA), which asserted advancements and highlighted the evolution of weapons and communication technology. Following the events of 9/11, the RMA was put to the test across the globe. The RMA that concentrated on speed and technology to quickly overwhelm our adversaries has been nothing short of extraordinary on today's battlefield. The enthusiast who promoted RMA argued that this was a new era of information-based warfare and that no longer would machines dominate the battlefield; information networks as noted in Figure 10 would now be the key to victory.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Bacevich, *Washington Rules*, 160.



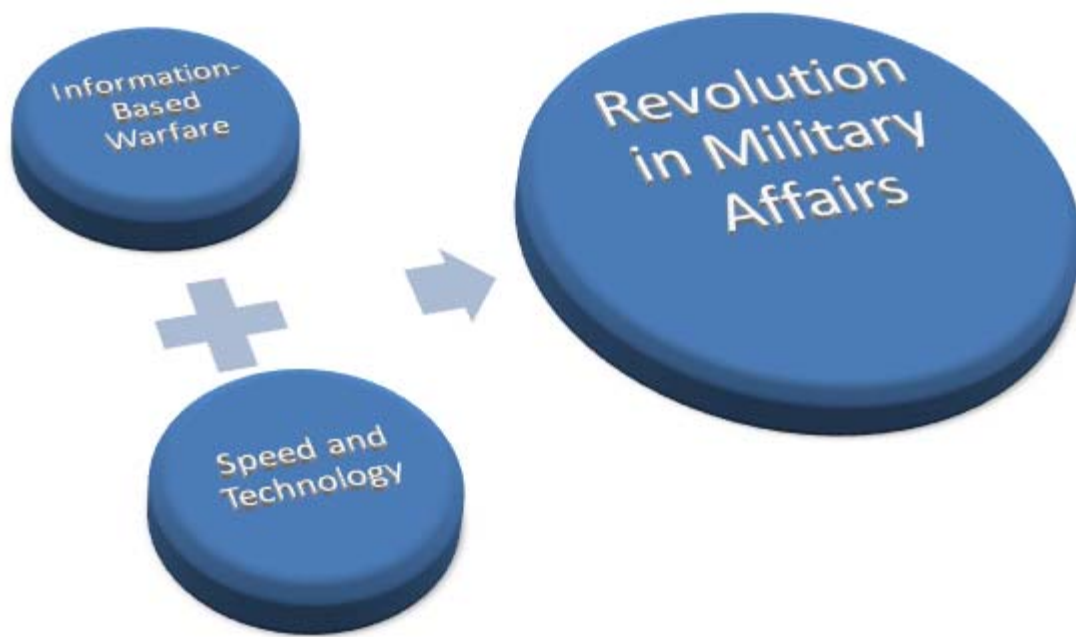


Figure 10. Revolution in Military Affairs

Nevertheless, the protracted struggles in Iraq and Afghanistan continued for many years. Although the success of the American military has been spectacular, our adversaries are still significant after a decade of conflict, and the outcome is unpredictable. Though, the RMA hoped to have quick and clean wars where fewer civilians and less critical infrastructure would be destroyed, the conflicts of the last decade have shown that even with smart weaponry and other technologically advanced methods of warfare not much has really changed in modern warfare. It is no less discriminating for citizens, and war will always be a dirty and unpredictable business.

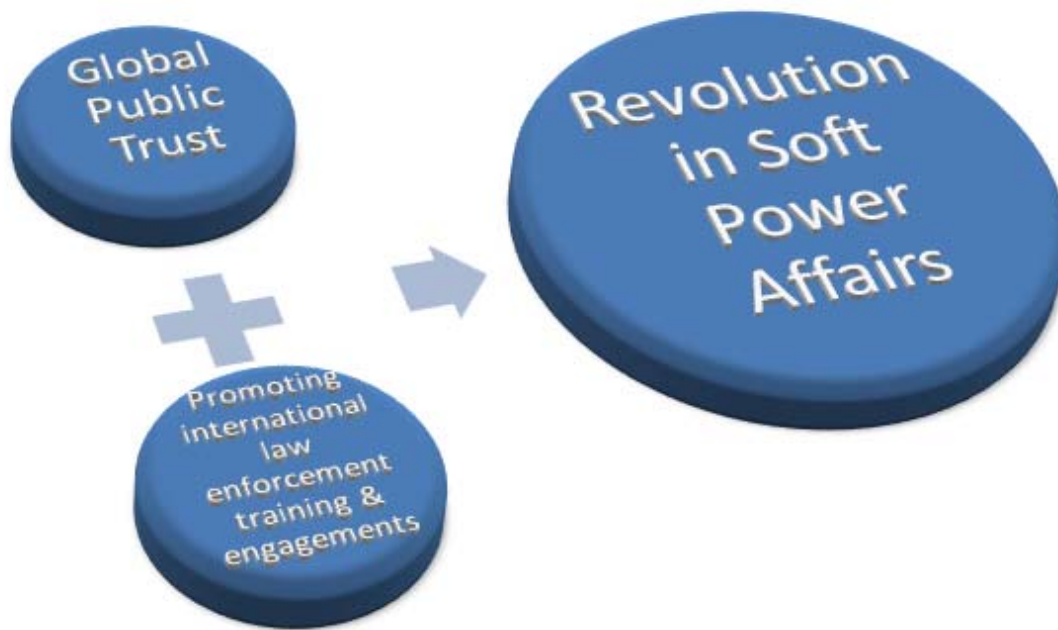


Figure 11. Revolution in Soft Power Affairs

Therefore, as a new era evolves, the U.S. should concentrate on improving global public trust. As mentioned in the last chapter and noted in the above Figure 11, this is where the U.S. should pursue an agenda of implementing a Revolution in Soft Power Affairs (RSPA). A full discussion on just how the overall RSPA should move forward is beyond the scope of this thesis. This revolution is an across the board advancement of soft power strategies to be adopted by the U.S. government. This thesis has only championed one small “spoke on the wheel” of national security through promoting greater international law enforcement training and engagements.

## **B. ALLOCATION OF FINITE RESOURCES**

In George Washington’s farewell address, he advised the United States to steer clear of foreign alliances and to focus on neutrality as a the fundamental part of the country’s foreign policy. This is a rather difficult task to accomplish with an ever increasing globalized world and the interconnectedness of the global economy. Since, the U.S. must have global involvement to economically thrive; it should have a soft footprint with a positive influence. It is globally unhealthy to have the military be the major icon

for U.S. diplomacy. Yet, the U.S. continues to invest significant resources in the DoD when a greater emphasis on DOS (as well as DHS and DOJ) diplomacy initiatives that can leave that softer footprint.

Another interesting note of consideration should be the allocation and use of finite resources. Are resources being utilized and spent properly? Since 1798, the U.S. has declared war on only five occasions. Yet, its armed forces have been involved in 235 deployments.<sup>178</sup> Of the 235, five were declared wars, eight are considered undeclared wars, and the 222 remaining conflicts were small wars, insurgencies, and counterinsurgencies.<sup>179</sup> In the meantime, most efforts have been placed on preparing for conventional wars, while the numbers show that peacekeeping and stability operations far outnumber conventional conflict.

The same train of thought and logic could be considered for the allocation of limited resources within homeland security. A question of homeland security could be is the U.S. training and focus geared towards the one big event, when so many small events should be entertained, or in the case of this paper the question could be asked. Are we funding enough programs that will benefit long-term strategic geopolitical ambitions and global security by enhancing international engagement through international training programs? Brian Jenkins, of the centrist think-tank Rand Corporation, sheds light on the number of terrorist incidents since 9/11.<sup>180</sup> His work is worthy of reflection. There have been significantly few major terrorist attacks in the west since 9/11, compared to the number of natural disasters and to the rapid growth of trans-national criminal activity.

In fact, in a speech given at University of Southern California, National Center for Risk Economic Analysis of Terrorist Events (CREATE) in April 2012, Jenkins asserted

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<sup>178</sup> Brian Harp, "Excluding Unconventional Warfare Solutions: Conventional Thinking in the Military's Educational System," master's thesis, Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2005.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Brian Jenkins, "The Long Campaign: What Have We Learned about War and Ourselves since 9/11," presented at National Center for Risk Economic Analysis of Terrorist Events, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, 2012, accessed on May 23, 2013, [http://create.usc.edu/2012/05/view\\_special\\_lecture\\_by\\_brian.html](http://create.usc.edu/2012/05/view_special_lecture_by_brian.html).

that since 9/11 to 2011, 96 cases of jihad homegrown terrorism have evolved.<sup>181</sup> This includes those who assisted in procuring material assistance, those who attempted to join a jihad overseas, and those who had intentions of doing harm in the United States. Of these cases, 192 people were identified or indicted. He claims there is a “lot of looking for very little finding.”<sup>182</sup> Only 11 of these had a real operational plan, with seven of those being FBI stings. Of those seven, only three of those had actual attempts or success: Carlos Bledsoe in the killing of an Army recruiter, Nidal Hasan in the Fort Hood attack, and Faisal Shahzad the “Time Square bomber.” This is not meant to discount the threat or success of one group of terrorists or the damage that one lone-wolf can accomplish, it is simply to question the allocation of resources.<sup>183</sup> The RSPA is a long-term investment in diplomacy. Increasing funding for soft power tools of statecraft is an investment in the future of global security, and geopolitical goals will only be met with sufficient investments in diplomacy.

### **C. SUMMARY OF WORK**

In summary, this thesis concludes that international exchanges of students, ideas, and thoughts are essentially the tools that were best suited to win the Cold War. These tools of soft power can and should be at the forefront of American national security policies for the near and long-term future. This thesis began by posing the questions: what is the role of soft power in homeland security, and how can that role be harnessed to improve homeland security’s international training and professional exchange efforts? The simple answer is that soft power does have a significant role in homeland security by the many international engagement efforts previously discussed and the many that are being developed. The power of influence, persuasion, and, in short, people-to-people contacts and relationship building will continue to be a major part of how DHS can harness soft power, not only to enhance homeland security, but also to be used as a vehicle to improve international relations.

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Jenkins, “The Long Campaign.”

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

At the operational level another question that was introduced early in this work was how can the Department of Homeland Security use models provided by the Department of Defense as a framework to explore and improve the efforts of DHS in international training and professional exchanges? Following the research of what is currently being used, such as efforts at the Naval War College; organizations within DHS can develop operational programs that will suit the growing need for improved global law enforcement and border control issues. By taking what has already worked during the Cold War and mirroring models from DoD's international training programs, DHS can have a significant role in what this paper has argued for in its revolution of soft power affairs.

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